Gerard Boter

Critical Notes on Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*

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PREFACE

This book is a companion to my Teubner edition of Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii Tyanei*, published by Walter de Gruyter Verlag in March 2022. It contains critical notes in which various aspects of the text are discussed, ranging from the use of particles and word order to moods and tenses.

The notes were composed while I was working on the constitution of the text of the *Vita Apollonii Tyanei*. I have discussed a large part of the notes with the members of the "Amsterdamse Hellenistenclub", of whom I would like to mention personally Rutger Allan, Jaap-Jan Flinterman, Joachim Kraaij, Bas van der Mije, Arjan Nijk, Albert Rijksbaron and Omert Schrier. Christopher Jones and Stefan Radt† have read the whole corpus of notes with great attention. All these scholars have greatly contributed to improving the quality of my edition, compelling me either to improve my arguments for a chosen reading or to abandon my choice altogether. Nina King has corrected my English. Donald Mastronarde has read the semi-final draft of the whole work and given me many useful advices. During the process of making the book ready for the press I have received continuous help and support from Katharina Legutke, Torben Behm and Florian Ruppenstein of Walter de Gruyter Verlag. My warmest thanks go to all these people.

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INTRODUCTION

This introduction[1] consists of two parts. In the first part I will discuss the sources we have at our disposal for the constitution of the text of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. These sources consist of the manuscripts, the indirect tradition, the editions and conjectures made by various scholars. In the second part I will discuss the peculiarities of Philostratus' Greek, which have important consequences for the constitution of the text.

1. The sources of Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*

1.1 The manuscripts

Of the total number of 29 extant manuscripts of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (henceforward *VA*)[2] six mss. have a primary status.[3] The mss. of *VA* are divided into two families, represented by the lost hyparchetypes x^1 and x^2 respectively; see the stemma on p. 4.[4]

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1 In this introduction I will make ample use of earlier publications, partly summarizing and partly expanding them: Boter 2009, 2014, 2019, 2020 and 2022.

2 In Boter 2014, 1–37 I have listed sixteen mss. which contain (large portions of) the full text and twelve mss. containing excerpts. Afterwards it became known that the so-called Vratislaviensis, which was supposed to have been lost during the Second World War, has in reality been preserved. Its present collocation is Cracow, Biblioteka Zgromadzenia Księży Misjonarzy, VIII.16.2; see Boter 2020. I regret that I have not been able to consult this ms., neither *in situ* nor on photographs.

3 In the following I will discuss the primary mss. only. For information on the secondary mss. see Boter 2009, 21–50; Boter 2014, 1–37.

4 Each of the two families has a number of separative errors against the other family. Here are some errors of the first family (x^1): 1.7.1 (p. 7.6–7) ποταμός – παρακάθηνται om. **A** ‖ 1.7.2 (p. 7.9) Αἰγὰς] αὐγὰς **A** ‖ 1.10.2 (p. 10.12) δὴ om. **A** ‖ 1.13.1 (p. 12.23) ἐπαίδευέ τε] ἐπαίετέ (sic) **A** ‖ 1.15.3 (p. 15.27) Ἀσπενδίων] ἀσπανδίων **A** ‖ 4.31.2 (p. 132.18) ὑπερβὰς] ὑπὲρ **A** ‖ 4.33 (p. 134.13) ξύμβουλον] ξύμβολον **A** ‖ 4.37.1 (p. 137.4) τῆς] τοῖς **A** ‖ 4.45.2 (p. 144.26) ἐν om. **A** ‖ 8.7.28 (p. 272.17) καὶ om. **AS** ‖ 8.7.29 (p. 272.25) δοκεῖ] δοκῇ **AS** ‖ 8.7.33 (p. 274.20) τοιούτων] τούτων **AS** ‖ 8.7.40 (p. 277.27) καὶ[1] om. **AS**^{ac2} ‖ 8.7.47 (p. 280.25) ἑτέρῳ] ἑτέρων **AS** ‖ 8.7.47 (p. 281.2) ἀποκοπῇ] ἀποκοπείη **AS** ‖ 8.15.2 (p. 286.29) μηδ'] μὴ **AS**.

Here are some errors of the second family (x^2): 1.1.3 (p. 2.9) κοῦρός τε κόρη τε **A** : κόρη τε κόρος (sic) τε **E FC** ‖ 1.2.3 (p. 3.18) ἄγνοιαν **A** : ἄνοιαν **E FC** ‖ 1.2.3 (p. 4.3) τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐπιστολῶν om. **E FC** ‖ 1.14.2 (p. 14.15) ὅλων] ὅλον **E FC** ‖ 1.16.3 (p. 17.7) ἐτῶν **A** : ἐκ τῶν **E F** ‖ 1.23.1 (p. 24.7) προελθόντι] προσελθόντι **E F** ‖ 4.27 (p. 129.17) ἐς] ὡς ἐς **E FQ** ‖ 4.36.3 (p. 136.21) ἀκινδύνου] κινδύνου **E FQ** ‖ 4.45.1 (p. 144.17) γὰρ om. **E FQ** ‖ 5.7.1 (p. 150.8) ἀνοητότερα] ἀνώτερα **E FQ** ‖ 5.23 (p. 161.25) με] μὲν **E FQ** ‖ 8.7.14 (p. 267.4) αὐτὸν om. **E FQ** ‖ 8.7.21

The main representative of the first family is Parisinus gr. 1801 (**A**), which was written in the first half of the fourteenth century.[5] Due to the loss of one bifolium, **A** has a lacuna in book four, running from 4.10.1 (p. 114.22) τέχνῃ to 4.13.3 (p. 117.15) γάρ. The text breaks off at 8.26.1 (p. 292.19) after the first two letters of the word βασιλείοις; as this word stands in the middle of a folium I assume that the exemplar of **A** broke off after βα. **A** has numerous variant readings above the line and in the margin, added by the scribe himself. As to the provenance of these variant readings it seems likely that they are either due to comparison with other branches of the tradition (e.g. 2.11.1 [p. 47.12] παιωνιζόντων **A E** : παιανιζόντων **A**^{1sl} **F**) or to conjecture by the scribe himself or one of his predecessors (e.g. 1.28.1 [p. 29.8] μαθὼν **A E F** : παθὼν **A**^{1sl}).

In the course of the seventh chapter of book eight **A** is joined by Laurentianus Conventi Soppressi 155, which was written in the first half of the fifteenth century.[6] Up to 8.7.10 (p. 265.17) this ms. derives from Laurentianus 69.33 (**F**) but in the rest of the work it is a gemellus of **A** and it bears the siglum **S**.[7] **S** breaks off after the word κἈργόθεν in 8.15.2 (p. 287.9). A later hand added numerous variant readings in **S**. That the common source of **A** and **S** contained variant readings is illustrated by the case of 8.7.21 (p. 270.5) where **A** and **S** have ἀθανατίζοντα, while **A**^{1mg} and **S**^{1sl} have ἀθάνατα ζῶντα with **E** and **F** (**Q** has ἀθάνατα ζῶντι).

The second family is split into two branches. The first of these is constituted by Escorialensis Φ.III.8 (**E**),[8] which was written in the twelfth century.[9] The text breaks off at

(p. 269.18) ἀνθρώπῳ] ἀνθρώπων **E FQ** ‖ 8.7.30 (p. 273.15) φῄς] φησιν **E FQ** ‖ 8.7.30 (p. 273.19) μὴ om. **E FQ** ‖ 8.7.32 (p. 274.15) γνώμην om. **E FQ** ‖ 8.7.32 (p. 274.15) ἑρμηνεύειν] νεύειν **E FQ** ‖ 8.7.37 (p. 276.18) αὐτὸ] αὐτὰ **E FQ**.

5 For **A**, see Boter 2009, 24–31; Boter 2014, 18–21. This ms. is digitally available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107218352 (accessed 20 December 2022).

6 For **S**, see Boter 2009, 40, 42–44; Boter 2014, 8–9. Crisci 1983, 14 states that **S** was written about 1400 AD.

7 Both mss. have separative errors of their own. Here are some errors of **A**: 8.7.14 (p. 267.3) φοροῦσιν] φρονοῦσιν **A** ‖ 8.7.21 (p. 269.21) χρώματα] χρήματα **A** ‖ 8.7.21 (p. 270.3) αὐτὸν om. **A** ‖ 8.7.29 (p. 273.9) τῇ] τοῦ **A** ‖ 8.7.32 (p. 274.14) ἔτ'] ἔστ' **A** ‖ 8.11 (p. 283.23) ἀπειπόντες] ἀπειπόντος **A** ‖ 8.12.4 (p. 284.30) πεύσεσθε] πεύσασθε **A**. And here are some errors of **S**: 8.7.21 (p. 269.20) ἑρμηνεύει] ἑρμηνεία **S** ‖ 8.7.27 (p. 272.10) καὶ om. **S** ‖ 8.7.29 (p. 273.8) τὰ] τοῦ **S** ‖ 8.7.35 (p. 276.4) αὐτὸν om. **S** ‖ 8.7.50 (p. 282.15) πλείων] πλείω **S** ‖ 8.15.2 (p. 287.9) κἀκ] καὶ **S**.

8 For **E**, see Boter 2009, 27, 31–34; Boter 2014, 3–8.

9 Here are some separative errors of **E**: 1.3.2 (p. 4.16) τὰ ἐν] μὲν **E** ‖ 1.9.2 (p. 9.21) ἔφη om. **E** ‖ 1.12.2 (p. 12.7) ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ om. **E** ‖ 1.19.1 (p. 19.7) Ἰὼ] ἠὼ **E** ‖ 1.22.2 (p. 23.23) δὲ om. **E** ‖ 1.25.1 (p. 27.19) ἔστη] ἔστιν **E** ‖ 1.26 (p. 28.15) παρ' – φοιτᾶν om. **E** ‖ 1.28.2 (p. 29.17) ὥσπερ om. **E** (ὡς **E**^{2sl}) ‖ 4.25.5 (p. 129.9) μέντοι] μὲν **E** ‖ 4.30.2 (p. 131.22) καὶ^{2} om. **E** ‖ 4.34.2 (p. 134.27) ἀποχρῶσαν] ἀποχρήσων **E** ‖ 4.36.2 (p. 136.20) λόγους] λόγοις **E** ‖ 4.42.2 (p. 142.11) αὐτὸς ἐπιλήψιμόν] αὐτὸς τολμηρὸν κινδυνῶδες ἐπιλήψιμόν **E** (e glossemate ortum) ‖ 5.5.1 (p. 149.6) ᾧ] ὡς **E** ‖ 5.15.2 (p. 157.2) τὰς] τῆς **E** ‖ 5.22.2 (p. 161.15) εἶπεν om. **E** ‖ 8.7.21 (p. 269.23–24) καὶ – τὸ om. **E**^{ac3} ‖ 8.7.23 (p. 270.27) μὲν om. **E** ‖ 8.7.26 (p. 272.4) Θετταλίᾳ] θαλαττίαι **E** ‖ 8.7.29 (p. 272.26) τίνας] τίνος **E** ‖ 8.7.30 (p. 273.14) θίγοιμι] θήγοι **E**.

8.30.2 (p. 294.23) in the word Κρή[τῃ]. For the few remaining pages of *VA* the readings of **E** can be reconstructed from the agreement of its apographs Parisinus gr. 1696 (**P**),[10] which was written in 1320 AD, and Marcianus gr. App. Cl. XI.29 (**M**),[11] which dates from the fourteenth century.[12]

The second branch of the second family is represented by the lost source (x^3) of the excerpts in Photius (for which see below, p. 9) and of the lost common source (x^4) of three mss.: Laurentianus plut. 69.33 (**F**),[13] which was written about 1000 AD, Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 329 (**Q**),[14] which belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century, and Parisinus suppl. gr. 607 (**C**),[15] written in the tenth century; the lost source of the quotations in Suda (for which see below, pp. 9–10) also belongs to this group.[16] **Q** and x^5, the source of the other members of the group, are gemelli, as is proved by the fact that each has separative errors against the other.[17] **F** breaks off in 8.31.2 (p. 296.4) after the word ἔφασαν; **Q** starts in 4.25.3 (p. 128.1) with the word ἐζωγράφει; **C** only has

10 For **P**, see Boter 2009, 27, 31–38; Boter 2014, 15–18. This ms. is digitally available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10086091c (accessed 20 December 2022).

11 For **M**, see Boter 2009, 27, 31–38; Boter 2014, 26–27.

12 In Boter 2009, 33–38 I argued that the lost common source of these two mss. was a gemellus of **E** but in Boter 2014, 45–49 I corrected this view, demonstrating that this common ancestor derives from **E**.

13 For **F**, see Boter 2009, 27, 38–40; Boter 2014, 12–14. This ms. is digitally available at http://mss.bmlonline.it/?search=plut.69.33 (accessed 20 December 2022).

14 For **Q**, see Boter 2009, 27, 38–39; Boter 2014, 23–24. This ms. is digitally available at https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.43176 (accessed 7 January 2023).

15 For **C**, see Boter 2014, 31–32. This ms. is digitally available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8593585j/f2.item (accessed 20 December 2022).

16 Here are some separative errors of the second branch of the second family (x^4): 1.2.1 (p. 3.7) πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων] πλεῖστα τῶν ἀνθρώπων **FC** ‖ 1.7.3 (p. 8.10) ἐπὶ] ὑπὸ **FC** ‖ 1.9.1 (p. 9.14) σοφίας ἐγὼ] ἐγὼ σοφίας **FC** ‖ 4.30.2 (p. 131.19) τις om. **FQ** ‖ 4.31.1 (p. 132.15) νέων] νέον **FQ** ‖ 4.33 (p. 134.9) ἦκεν] ἦλθεν **FQ** ‖ 4.43.1 (p. 142.16) ἔφην] ἔφη **FQ** ‖ 8.7.6 (p. 264.10) ἀπαξιοῦν] ἀξιοῦν **FQ** ‖ 8.7.12 (p. 266.15) προκηρύττων] προκηρύττω **FQ** ‖ 8.7.18 (p. 268.19) ἀνθρώπου] αὐτοῦ **FQ** ‖ 8.7.18 (p. 268.22) ᾄδειν] ἄγειν **FQ** ‖ 8.7.33 (p. 275.3) γὰρ] γε **FQ** ‖ 8.7.38 (p. 276.29) Ἕλληνας om. **FQ**.

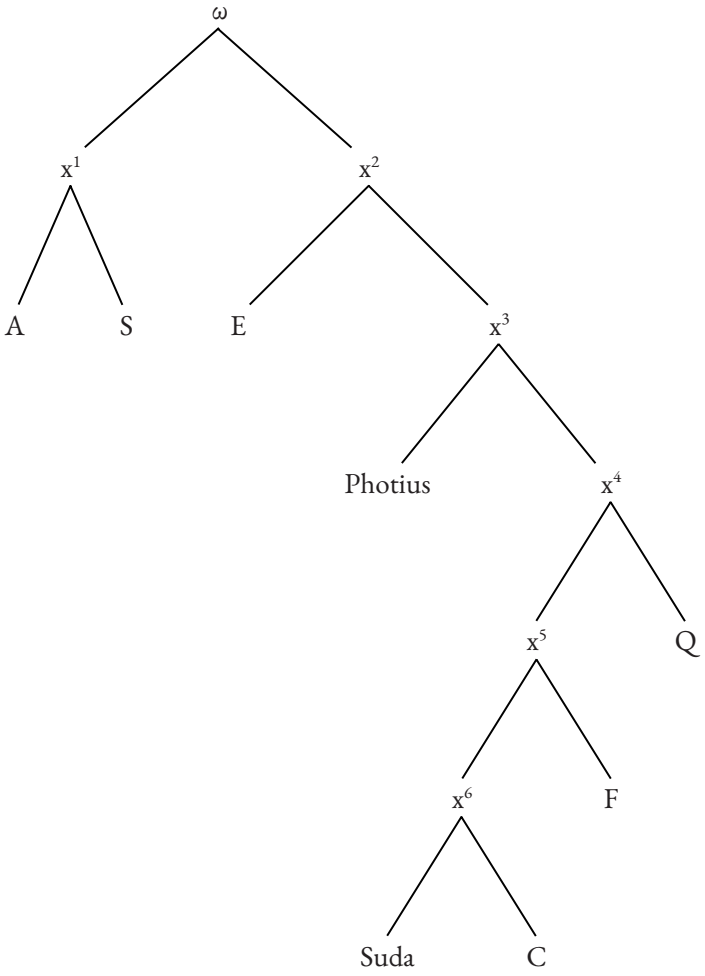
17 Comparison of **Q** and **C** is impossible because **Q** starts in book 4 while **C** only has fragments from the beginning of book 1. Here are some separative errors of **F**: 4.27 (p. 130.6) αἰσθέσθαι] ἔσεσθαι **F** ‖ 4.30.2 (p. 131.25) δὲ] τε **F** (δὲ $\mathbf{F}^{2sl}$) ‖ 4.40.3 (p. 141.17) οὔπω – αὐτῶν om. $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ (add. $\mathbf{F}^{2sl}$) ‖ 5.7.3 (p. 151.8) ὡς om. **F** ‖ 5.16.1 (p. 157.10) ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς **F** ‖ 5.18 (p. 158.13) πλεῦσαι] πέμψαι **F** ‖ 5.43.1 (p. 177.23) τῶν om. **F** ‖ 6.10.4 (p. 188.25) μὴ om. **F** ‖ 8.7.38 (p. 277.2) μὲν om. **F** ‖ 8.7.44 (p. 280.4) φύσει] τῇ φύσει **F** ‖ 8.9 (p. 283.8) ὡς] ὥσπερ **F** ‖ 8.12.4 (p. 285.6) ἐσελθεῖν Cobet : ἐπελθεῖν **AS E Q** : ἐλθεῖν **F** ‖ 8.25.1 (p. 291.26) ὕπατον] ὑπ' αὐτὸν **F** ‖ 8.26.2 (p. 293.4) δ' om. **F**.

Here are some separative errors of **Q**: 4.30.1 (p. 131.9) δὲ om. **Q** ‖ 4.41 (p. 141.24) ἠσπάζετο] ἠγωνίζετο **Q** ‖ 5.15.1 (p. 156.20) κηρίον] κηρύκιον **Q** ‖ 5.20.1 (p. 159.7) θεῶν] θεοῖς **Q** ‖ 5.21.3 (p. 160.16–17) τὸν – θερμότερον om. **Q** ‖ 5.21.4 (p. 161.3) ἦν] καὶ **Q** ‖ 5.43.1 (p. 177.26) αὐτόθι] αὐτὸν **Q** ‖ 8.7.26 (p. 271.27) ἀληθείας] ἀδείας **Q** ‖ 8.7.26 (p. 272.5) ἤκουσεν] ἤκουσαν **Q** ‖ 8.7.29 (p. 272.26) θαυμαστὰς] θαῦμα **Q** ‖ 8.7.30 (p. 273.22) μύσος] μῖσος **Q** ‖ 8.7.43 (p. 279.18) νῦν om. **Q** ‖ 8.13.1 (p. 285.9) καταγγελλόμενον] καταγελώμενον **Q** ‖ 8.23 (p. 291.17) εἰπεῖν om. **Q**.

parts of the beginning of the first book, in which it derives from a lost gemellus of **F** (x^6), which also was the source of the quotations in Suda.[18]

E and **F** have been intensively corrected by later hands (see Boter 2014, 4–8 and 12–14 respectively).

The relationship of the primary sources is depicted in the *stemma codicum*.



18 In Boter 2014, 31 I stated that **C** contains 1.1.1–3.1 (pp. 1.1–4.9) and 1.14.1–16.1 (pp. 14.8–16.15), basing myself on the catalogue by H. Omont. Dr. Pietro Maria Liuzzo has informed me *per litteras* that in reality **C** also contains 1.3.1–9.2 (pp. 4.8–9.21). See Liuzzo 2015, 102, 112, 113.

C and **F** have separative errors against each other. Some errors of **C**: 1.1.1 (p. 1.4) καὶ om. **C** ‖ 1.1.3 (p. 2.5) ὅτι] ὡς **C** ‖ 1.2.1 (p. 2.15) ὑπεράραντα] ὑπεραιροντα (sic) **C** ‖ 1.14.2 (p. 14.11) ἄχαρις τά γε] ἀχάριστά γε τὰ **C** ‖ 1.14.2 (p. 14.13) οὐδὲ] ὁ δὲ **C**. Some errors of **F**: 1.1.2 (p. 2.1) τὰ[1]] καὶ τὰ **F** ‖ 1.3.1 (p. 4.11) τούτων om. **F** ‖ 1.4 (p. 5.13) τε om. **F** ‖ 1.7.2 (p. 8.4) εὔχονται] ἔχονται **F** ‖ 1.15.1 (p. 15.1) διέτριψέ] διέπρεψέ **F**.

Stemmata quid faciunt?, Juvenal asks (8.1), and this question is also relevant for the *stemma codicum* of *VA*. Where all witnesses of both families agree we can be certain to have the reading of the archetype. Where the two families are divided the reading of the archetype is normally represented by one of these two readings. But this is not always the case because it is possible that the reading of the archetype was corrupted in two different ways in the two families. See for instance 4.11.2 (p. 115.19), where **A** has a lacuna so that **E** and **F** are the only witnesses: **F** has διοσκορίδαι, **E** διοσκουρίλαι, which are both wrong and of which instead I have written Διοσκουρίδαι (which is in accordance with the form of the name in 4.38.1 [p. 137.17] and 5.43.1 [p. 177.26]). That there was also contamination at work between the primary witnesses is proved by the numerous cases where there are variant readings added by the first hand; see for instance 1.12.1 (p. 11.26) θεράπων] θεραπεύων **A** (πων **A**$^{\text{lsl}}$); 4.39.1 (p. 139.13) ἀγλευκῶς] ἀγροίκως **F**$^{\text{lmgγρ}}$ (et Suda); 4.42.2 (p. 142.11) παραβεβλημένον] παραβεβλαμμένον **Q** (παραβεβλημένον **Q**$^{\text{lsl}}$); 6.11.5 (p. 191.3) ἀηδὴς **A E F**$^{\text{lsl}}$**Q** : ἀειδὴς **A**$^{\text{lsl}}$ **F**. Such double readings may already have been present in the exemplar, as is likely in the case of 6.11.5. Variant readings can also be due to conjecture, either by the scribe himself or by one of his predecessors. In **F**(**Q**) we regularly find probably authentic readings which appear to be due to deliberate change by the scribe; see for instance 1.39.2 (p. 38.11) δυοῖν ἡμέραιν **F**: δυοῖν ἡμερῶν **A E**; 2.39.3 (p. 70.11) δόξεις **F** : δόξης **A E**. On the other hand, I have rejected **F**'s reading ὑποκρίναιντο at 2.37.1 (p. 68.23) for which **A E** have ὑποκρίνωνται; I have conjectured ὑποκρινοῦνται (see note ad loc. [pp. 87–88]).

The only type of variant readings in which the stemma can play a decisive role is in matters of word order: if **A** agrees in word order with either **E** or **F**(**Q**) we can assume that the reading in **A** and one of the branches of the second family represents the reading of the archetype. See for instance 4.28.1 (p. 130.15) αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων **A E** : ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτοὺς **FQ**. But here too there are exceptions to the rule, as is demonstrated by the case of 2.14.4 (p. 51.25) οὖν ἔφη **F**: ἔφη οὖν **A E**, where the word order of **A E** is impossible.

What I have stated above will not come as a surprise to anyone: the times of strict application of stemmatics are long gone.

1.2 The indirect tradition

The most important representatives of the indirect tradition are Eusebius' *Contra Hieroclem*, the collection of *Letters* ascribed to Apollonius of Tyana, Photius' *Bibliotheca* and the lexicon which is known under the name Suda or Suidas.

1.2.1 Eusebius[19]

The authenticity of the treatise Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοστράτου εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον διὰ τὴν Ἱεροκλεῖ παραληφθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σύγκρισιν has been doubted by some scholars but nowadays the prevailing opinion is that the work is rightly ascribed to Eusebius.[20] As was only to be expected in a polemical work directed against *VA*, the text abounds with quotations from, paraphrases of and references to Philostratus' text. Eusebius' testimony should be used with caution, as it was not his primary aim to reproduce the attacked text as faithfully as possible. His loose way of dealing with Philostratus' text is illustrated in chapter 42 of the treatise, in which he twice quotes a phrase from the speech delivered by Apollonius to the emperor Domitian (8.7.10 [p. 265.15]). In lines 9–11 he writes ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί· τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα, but a little bit further on, in line 21, we read τὰ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα εἶναι. In the first passage he adds the words παρ' αὐτοῖς, in the second the word εἶναι.

Even so, there are some passages where I am convinced that Eusebius provides us with the authentic text. Some instances: 1.7.2 (p. 7.14) σοφίᾳ Eus. : φιλοσοφίᾳ **A E FC**; 2.29.1 (p. 62.2) ἀναφέρεις Eus. : ἀναφέρειν **A E F**; 6.11.12 (p. 193.14) εἰς Eus. : οἱ **A E FQ**; 7.8.2 (p. 226.3–4) παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα Eus. : παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα **A E FQ**. Thus Eusebius is an important primary witness, independent of the archetype of the extant mss.

1.2.2 The collection of letters[21]

The *Letters of Apollonius of Tyana* are available in the excellent edition by Robert Penella, published in 1979. Within the complete corpus of letters we also find the letters that Philostratus presents in *VA*. Penella divides the letters which are also found in *VA* into two groups, 42a–h and 77a–f. In this respect he follows the *editio princeps*[22] and subsequent editions. Olearius and Kayser, in their editions of the collection of *Letters of Apollonius*, omit the letters which are also found in *VA*.

Here is the list of the letters and their place in *VA*.

42a	aff. 4.27 (p. 130.4–6) Ἀπολλώνιος – αἰσθέσθαι
42b–e	aff. 4.46.2–5 (p. 145.11–20) Ἀπολλώνιος – ἀπολογήσομαι
42f–h	aff. 5.41.2–4 (p. 176.18–24) Ἀπολλώνιος – ἐδουλώσω

19 For Eusebius, see Boter 2014, 37–38; Boter 2022, XII–XIII.

20 See Borzì 2003; Jones 2006a, 152.

21 For the *Letters*, see Boter 2022, XIII.

22 Bartholomaeus Justinopolitanus, Φαλάριδος ἐπιστολαὶ τυράννου ἀκραγαντίνων, Ἐπιστολαὶ ἀπολλωνίου φιλοσόφου πυθαγορικοῦ, Μιθριδάτου συναγωγὴ τῶν βρούτου ἐπιστολῶν, Venice 1498.

77a aff. 1.15.3 (p. 16.5–8) Ἀπολλώνιος – ἑστάναι
77b aff. 2.41 (p. 71.29–72.5) Βασιλεὺς – ἥττηνται
77c aff. 3.51 (p. 106.13–17) Ἀπολλώνιος – Ταντάλου
77d aff. 6.29.2 (p. 212.21–24) Ἀπολλώνιος – γινώσκεις
77e aff. 6.33 (p. 215.10–12) Δημητρίῳ – πάντα
77f aff. 8.7.11 (p. 265.23–26) Αὐτοκράτωρ – αὐθαιρέτως

The fact that the letters are divided into two groups brings Penella (1979, 20) to the following conclusion: "This seems to suggest that the *VA* itself and not, say, some ancient epistolographical anthology was the ultimate source from which these fourteen letters passed into the Byzantine epistolographical tradition." I fully agree with Penella but he does not tell the complete story. The division of the *VA* letters into two groups, 42a–h and 77a–f, is only found in the mss. of Penella's group II. The mss. of his first group have all *VA* letters in one block, added after letter 77, the last letter of the original epistolographical corpus. They have the letters in the following order (see Penella 1979, 4–6; 20 n. 70):

77a aff. 1.15.3 Ἀπολλώνιος – ἑστάναι
77b aff. 2.41 Βασιλεὺς – ἥττηνται
77c aff. 3.51 Ἀπολλώνιος – Ταντάλου
42a aff. 4.27 Ἀπολλώνιος – αἰσθέσθαι
42b om.
42c–e aff. 4.46.2–5 Ἀπολλώνιος – ἀπολογήσομαι
42f–h aff. 5.41.2–4 Ἀπολλώνιος – ἐδουλώσω
77d aff. 6.29.2 Ἀπολλώνιος – γινώσκεις
77e aff. 6.33 Δημητρίῳ – πάντα
77f om.

It can be seen that this order exactly corresponds to the order in which the letters occur in *VA* (with the omission of letters 42b and 77f). On the one hand, this reinforces Penella's hypothesis that the *VA* letters were added to the original epistolographical corpus from *VA* itself at a later stage; on the other hand, it suggests that the place in which these letters are presented in Group I is the place in which they originally came into the corpus. Therefore Penella might have done better by printing all *VA* letters after letter 77. If the order of Group I is indeed the original order we can only guess at an unknown scribe's motives for placing letters 42a–h after letter 42.

Penella 1979, 23–26 is sceptical about the authenticity of at least some of the *VA* letters and in this respect I can only concur with him.[23] But even if it is admitted that some or even most or all of the *VA* letters are Philostratus' fabrications (which in itself

23 See also Lo Cascio 1978, Jones 2006a, 2–7; 2006b, 599–600; 2009, 249–250.

would not be surprising at all) the possibility remains that he found one or more of them in a collection which contained more letters than the collection we have now.[24]

For our purposes, however, it is immaterial whether Philostratus invented the letters himself or found them in some collection. What is important for the constitution of the text of *VA* is the fact that the letters in the collection were borrowed from a copy of *VA*. The source of the collection must be considered a gemellus of the archetype of the medieval mss. of *VA*. This appears from the fact that the mss. have at least one error which is not found in the collection, namely 4.47.4 (p. 145.18) where the mss. have οὐ παρῆλθε(ν). Hamaker 1816, 94 saw that οὐ must be wrong here; and indeed it is not found in the text of the collection (42d). On the other hand, the collection has errors against the mss. of *VA*, e.g. 5.41.2 (p. 176.24) where the collection (42h) has ἐδούλωσας for ἐδουλώσω of the mss.[25] What is more, there are some places where both the mss. of *VA* and the collection appear to share an error, which proves the existence of an archetype which was later than Philostratus' autograph. One of these passages is 1.15.3 (p. 16.7), where both the mss. of *VA* and the collection have ἐάσω for Reiske's conjecture ἐάσει (which I regard as certain; see note ad loc. [p. 41]). At 4.27 (p. 130.5) the mss. of *VA* and the collection (42a) have ἀνδρῶν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν; Penella plausibly suggests that μή should be deleted; see note ad loc. (pp. 150–152).

Because the letters of the collection derive from some early copy of *VA* which predates the archetype of our mss. they constitute an independent source for the constitution of the text of *VA*.[26] In the passage just referred to (*VA* 4.27 [p. 130.6] = letter 42a) the collection adds the words Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ διορθοῦσθαι, which are lacking in the mss. of *VA*. To my mind, these words are authentic (see note ad loc. [pp. 150–152]). If they are not, how on earth could they have found their way into the text of the collection?[27]

24 For a full discussion of the letters incorporated in *VA* see Kasprzyk 2013. Kasprzyk does not express a definitive opinion on the authenticity of the letters quoted in *VA*; thus in his conclusion he writes (p. 289): "Whether he uses letters actually written by Apollonius, circulating under the name of Apollonius (letters that he can consider or pretend to consider as authentic), letters rewritten (like the account of Damis: cf. 1.3) or letters invented by himself (…)."

25 Penella prints ἐδουλώσω in his text of the letter, reporting ἐδούλωσας as the reading of the manuscripts of the collection in his apparatus.

26 If the *VA* letters in the collection went back to a collection which was Philostratus' source there would be two tasks for the editor: 1. editing the letters as they stood in the collection; 2. editing the letters as they found their way into *VA*.

27 There is a remarkable case of contamination in 4.46.3 (p. 145.16), where **Q** agrees with *Ep.Ap.* in adding λύει after ἑαυτόν. It might, however, be due to conjectural emendation in (a predecessor of) **Q**, based on the corresponding ἔλυσε in 4.46.2 (p. 145.14). To my mind, ἑαυτὸν λύει is the authentic reading (it was also adopted by Jones).

1.2.3 Photius[28]

"Codices" 44 and 241 of Photius' *Bibliotheca* are devoted to *VA*. The brief codex 44 only gives a summary of the work, without any direct quotations. The long codex 241, on the other hand, contains many direct quotations. In Boter 2014, 40–42 I have shown that the source of Photius' quotations from *VA* can be regarded as a gemellus of the lost common source of **F** and **Q**.[29] Given this stemmatical position of Photius' source it will not come as a surprise that there are hardly any passages where Photius' text has a claim to authenticity as compared to the other witnesses.

1.2.4 Suda[30]

The lexicon known as Suda or Suidas has some seventy quotations from *VA*, varying from one line (μ 1262 = 8.5.3 [p. 261.4–5]) to two pages (τ 598 = 6.3.1–5 [p. 180.21–183.1]) in my edition. In Boter 2014, 44–45 I have illustrated that the source of the quotations in Suda is a gemellus of **C**.[31] Suda's position in the stemma being even lower

28 For Photius, see Boter 2014, 38–43; Boter 2022, XIII–XIV.

29 That the source of Photius and the source of **FQ** (x^4) are gemelli is proved by their conjunctive errors of which I will give some instances here: 3.4.2 (p. 74.20) ὑψηλοὶ] ὑψηλαὶ **F** Phot. ‖ 3.5.2 (p. 76.9) κάλυκες] καλαὶ **F** Phot. ‖ 3.53 (p. 107.3) ἐλθεῖν] ξυνελθεῖν **F** Phot.**A** : συνελθεῖν Phot.**M** ‖ 5.3 (p. 148.6) δὲ om. **FQ** Phot. ‖ 5.6 (p. 149.18) ἀναπλῶσαι] ἀναπλεῦσαι **FQ** Phot. ‖ 5.16.1 (p. 157.17) τῶν om. **FQ** Phot. ‖ 6.26.2 (p. 210.14) κτυπηθῆναι] ἐκκτυπηθῆναι **FQ** : ἐγκτυπηθῆναι Phot. ‖ 7.21.2 (p. 240.9) ᾧ] ὃ **FQ** Phot.

FQ (which are both younger than Photius) have separative errors against Photius; here are some instances: 1.25.1 (p. 27.10) ἐκείνῃ] ἐκεῖ **F** ‖ 2.20.1 (p. 54.24) τῶν om. **F** ‖ 3.5.2 (p. 76.7) καὶ] δὲ καὶ **F** ‖ 3.8.2 (p. 78.4) ἐγγογετεύσαντες] γογετεύσαντες **F** ‖ 6.1.1 (p. 179.9) οὔπω] καὶ οὔπω **FQ** ‖ 6.3.5 (p. 182.13) τῆς] τις **FQ** ‖ 6.10.5 (p. 189.4) καὶ om. **FQ** ‖ 6.25 (p. 209.21) οἱ – θηρῶντες] οἳ – θηρῶσι **FQ**. Photius has a lot of readings which are not found elsewhere; some instances: 1.14.1 (p. 14.4) γενναίως δοξάζων καὶ om. Phot. ‖ 1.19.1 (p. 19.8) οἷον] οἷα Phot. ‖ 1.25.1 (p. 27.11) ποταμὸν] ποταμῶν Phot. ‖ 3.46.2 (p. 104.17) καὶ ὑποκείσονται] ὑποκείσονται γὰρ Phot. ‖ 3.57.1 (p. 108.17) κατεσκευασμένος] κατασκευασάμενος Phot. ‖ 6.10.5 (p. 189.3) ἔστι δ' αὐτῇ om. Phot. ‖ 6.11.16 (p. 195.11) ὁπόση] ὁπόσα Phot. ‖ 6.14 (p. 198.26) λέγεσθε] λέγεται Phot.

30 For Suda, see Boter 2014, 43–45; Boter 2022, XIV.

31 There is agreement in error between **C** and Suda in the following passages: 1.2.1 (p. 3.5) τε^1] δὲ **C** Suda ‖ 1.2.3 (p. 4.3) περὶ αὐτοῦ] πρὸς αὐτὸν **C** Suda ‖ 1.2.3 (p. 4.6) ἐπηνώρθου om. **C** Suda ‖ 1.7.2 (p. 7.10) φιλοσοφοῦντι] φιλοσοφήσαντι **C** Suda**GIVM** (φιλοσοφήσοντι habet Suda**A**). Because **C** contains only a few pages from the beginning of book one I will also quote a few passages where there is agreement in error between Suda and **F** (a gemellus of **C**), **FC** and **FQ**: 1.7.3 (p. 8.10–11) δέκατον καὶ ἕκτον] ἕκτον καὶ δέκατον **FC** Suda ‖ 1.7.3 (p. 8.14) τὸν σεαυτοῦ τρόπον ἔφη] ἔφη τὸν σεαυτοῦ τρόπον **FC** Suda ‖ 1.35.1 (p. 34.15) διαβάλλω] διαβάλω **F** Suda ‖ 6.3.2 (p. 181.13) ἔφη] εἶπεν **FQ** Suda ‖ 6.3.5 (p. 182.11) τοῦ om. **FQ** Suda. Suda has numerous readings which are not found elsewhere; some instances: 1.2.2 (p. 3.16) προστιθέντες] προτιθέντες Suda ‖ 3.20.3 (p. 87.13) πόλει] τῇ πόλει Suda ‖ 4.1.2 (p. 110.8) πρὸς αὐτὸν om. Suda ‖ 4.22.1 (p. 125.8) μοιχοὶ καὶ πόρνοι καὶ τοιχωρύχοι καὶ βαλλαντιοτόμοι] μοιχοὶ πόρνοι τοιχωρύχοι βαλλαντιοτόμοι Suda ‖

than Photius' it was only to be expected that Suda hardly ever gives us the authentic text in comparison to the other witnesses; the case of 2.11.2 (p. 47.16), where Suda rightly has ἐμβάλλοντα against ἐμβαλόντα of the mss., can hardly count as being due to vertical transmission and it is in all probability a deliberate or undeliberate change of ἐμβαλόντα.

1.2.5 Other indirect witnesses

Scattered references are found in other authors, ranging from ps.-Aristotle to Thomas Magister.[32] I will not discuss these authors in detail but I would mention the fact that these minor witnesses too occasionally provide valuable information on the text.[33]

1.3 The editions

The *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* was first published by Aldus Manutius in 1501–1502; Frédéric Morel published his edition in 1608, followed by Gottfried Olearius in 1709. Carl Ludwig Kayser produced the first real critical edition in 1844, followed by an *editio minor* in 1870. Anton Westermann published a Didot edition of Philostratus and Callistratus in 1849. The *Life* was edited twice in the Loeb Classical Library: first by F.C. Conybeare in 1912 and almost a century later by Christopher Jones in 2005.

1.3.1 The Aldine edition[34]

The Aldine *editio princeps* of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* was published in Venice in 1501–1502 (reprinted with preface in 1504). Remarkably enough, Aldus is very negative about the work in his introductory letter to Zenobius (see Boter 2022, XV). About the Latin translation which follows the Greek text Aldus is equally negative.

The Aldine edition is closely related to Laur. 69.26, which via Laur. Conventi Soppressi 155 ultimately derives from the primary ms. Laur. 69.33 (**F**).[35] The dependence of the Aldine edition on Laur. 69.26 was already noted by Kayser, in the *prooemium*

4.39.1 (p. 139.10) ἐδόκει] ἦν Suda ‖ 6.3.1 (p. 180.22) ἔτι] ἄρτι Suda ‖ 6.3.2 (p. 181.8) ὁ νεανίσκος] ὁ νεανίσκος ὅδε Suda ‖ 6.3.5 (p. 182.6) ὃ] ὅπερ Suda.

32 For a full list of authors referring to *VA*, see the *Conspectus siglorum* (pp. 23–25); see also Boter 2022, LVIII–LIX.

33 See for instance the readings of ps.-Aristotle in 1.6 (p. 6.7–14) and the form of the name Θεσπεσίων in Cyrillus of Alexandria at 6.10.1 (p. 187.13); cf. the notes ad locc. (pp. 33–34 and pp. 203–205).

34 See Boter 2022, XV. This edition is digitally available at https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_6qXWYxZPPpcC (accessed 20 December 2022).

35 For the relationship of these three mss., see Boter 2009, 39–40, 42–43, 45.

to *VA* in the 1844 edition, p. XI: "Memorabilis ea maxime causa est [sc. codex Laur. CS 155], quod Aldina hinc est expressa, quamquam non ipso in partes vocato, sed ejus apographo, Laurentiano Pl. LXIX. 26 (fc.), de quo Bandinius haec scripsit: »In prima pagina antiqua manus adnotavit: translatus in Latinum per Alamannum Rinuccinum A.D. 1473. forte ex hoc eodem codice, qui nitidissimus est atque optimus cod. Gr. membr. in 4 min. Saec. XV constat foliis scriptis 196.« (…) qui non nisi propter nitorem scripturae ab Aldo delectus esse videatur, quem traderet typothetis". Kayser does not add proof for the dependence of the Aldine edition on Laur. 69.26, but this dependence is abundantly illustrated by numerous cases where the Aldina shares a reading which is exclusively found in Laur. 69.26. Here are some instances: 2.5.2 (p. 42.23) ἴσως om.; ibidem ψαύσειν] ψαύσῃ; 2.12.2 (p. 49.4) λέγοντα] λέγοντες; 4.10.1 (p. 114.19) γὰρ om.; 4.22.1 (p. 125.8) καὶ ἀνδραποδισταὶ om.; 6.3.2 (p. 181.8) ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος] ὁ νεανίσκος ἔφη; 6.10.1 (p. 187.13–14) δείξας – Θεσπεσίων om.; 8.4 (p. 259.22) ξυγχωρήσεις] ξυγχωρήσειν; 8.7.16 (p. 267.24) ἢ θεοὶ om. Separative errors of Laur. 69.26 against the Aldina (and the other witnesses) are trivial and can be easily corrected; see for instance 2.1 (p. 40.2) ὁπόσων] ὁπόσαιν; 2.11.1 (p. 47.8) δεῖ] δὴ; 4.11.3 (p. 116.10) ναῦν] ναῦ; 6.2.2 (p. 180.13) ἐπιτιμήσωσι] ἐπιτιμίσωσι; 6.10.4 (p. 188.26) ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι] ἐμβεβροτῆσθαι; 8.7.18 (p. 268.16) πᾶσαι] πᾶσα. Prof. N.G. Wilson has informed me *per litteras* that he considers it unlikely that Laur. 69.26 itself was used for the Aldina because Aldus normally used mss. from the Marcian library in Venice. If this should be true the Aldine edition derives from a lost close relative of Laur. 69.26.

Because Laur. 69.26 ultimately stems from Laur. 69.33 (**F**), as already mentioned above, and because later editions took the Aldina as their direct or indirect primary source for the text, **F** readings are predominant in the editions. This is especially visible in places where the word order of **F** and the editions deviates from the one in **A** and **E** (see above, p. 5).

In two places we owe the probably authentic reading to the Aldina: 4.24.2 (p. 126.22) Πυθικοῖς Aldina : πυθιονίκοις **A** $\mathbf{E}^{\text{1pc}}$ **F** : πυθυονίκοις $\mathbf{E}^{\text{ac1}}$; 6.27.2 (p. 211.16) διαβάλλων Aldina : διαβαλὼν **A E FQ** : διαλαβὼν $\mathbf{A}^{\text{1sl}}$. In both cases the reading of the Aldina may have been inspired by Rinuccino's translation: in 4.24.2 Rinuccino has *olympiis, pythiisque*; in 6.27.2 his translation reads *in Midae aures calumnias iactans*.

1.3.2 The edition by Morel[36]

The edition by Frédéric Morel was published in Paris in 1608. Morel removed a number of errors found in the Aldina, partly with the help of readings of Parisinus gr. 1801 (**A**) which were reported to him by Isaac Casaubon. Unfortunately, because he did not distinguish systematically between the readings of the Aldina and of **A**, his report has

36 See Boter 2022, XV–XVI. This edition is digitally available at https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_C41tWMPR3q0C (accessed 20 December 2022).

often led to misunderstanding by later editors, especially by Olearius, as is illustrated by Kayser 1844, *prooemium* to *VA* XIV. Morel adds numerous conjectures, either in the text or in the margin, most of which are unconvincing; however, some of his conjectures can be regarded as certain, such as 2.26.1 (p. 59.16) ἀντερύῃ Morel, ἀνταρύῃ mss. and 5.7.2 (p. 150.10) ἄ γε Morel in the margin, ἅτε mss. Occasionally, Morel makes enigmatic statements; thus at 4.16.6 (p. 121.2) he states that the words σοφοῖς γὰρ πρὸς σοφοὺς ἐπιτήδεια come from Aeschylus' *Niobe*, which has puzzled subsequent scholars (see the note on this passage [p. 140]). Kayser 1844, *prooemium* to *VA* XV, grumpily remarks that Morel's edition contains a lot more errors than the Aldina.

1.3.3 The edition by Olearius[37]

Gottfried Olearius published his edition of Philostratus and Callistratus in Leipzig in 1709, a century and a year after the one of his predecessor. He had the advantage of being able to use the notes by Richard Bentley, who never executed his plan to edit Philostratus himself. Moreover, he had collations of five mss. at his disposal.

Kayser is very negative about Olearius' gifts as an editor. Thus he calls him a *pessimus criticus* (Kayser 1844, *praefatio* X), mentions the carelessness with which he used Morel's edition (Kayser 1844, *prooemium* to *VA* XIV–XV), calls the large majority of his conjectures *inanes et ineptas* (Kayser 1844, *prooemium* to *VA* XV) and accuses him of presenting Bentley's conjectures as if these were his own.[38] In note 1 on p. XV Kayser singles out two passages where Olearius has made a felicitous conjecture, namely 6.21.5 (p. 207.29) where Olearius has στοχαζομένην for the transmitted στοχαζόμενος, and 7.15.1 (p. 235.8), where he has φιλοσοφίᾳ αὐτῇ for the transmitted φιλοσοφίαν αὐτήν. To my mind, there are more passages where Olearius hit the mark, such as 2.17.1 (p. 53.1) Ἀκεσίνου Olearius : ἀρκεσίνου **F** : ἀρκεσίμου **A E**; 3.11 (p. 79.19) περὶ Μέ⟨μ⟩νονα τὸν Olearius : περὶ μένωνα τὸν **E F** : περιμένων αὐτὸν **A**; 3.23.1 (p. 88.18) πρωΐαν Olearius (et Cobet) : πρώτην **A E F**.

With regard to the extensive exegetical notes in Olearius' edition Kayser (1844, *praefatio* X) admits that he is *non contemnendus exegeta*, with the proviso *si ipsius essent, quae aliunde fluxisse probabilis est suspicio*.[39]

37 See Boter 2022, XVI. This edition is digitally available at https://archive.org/details/tatonphilostrato00phil/page/n7/mode/2up?view=theater (accessed 20 December 2022).

38 Kayser[1], *prooemium* to *VA* XV: "Eas correctiones (= Bentley's conjectures) bonus Olearius aut tacite suas fecit, aut silentio transiit."

39 Kayser refers to Jacobs 1825, XLVII n. 24, where Jacobs suggests that Olearius plagiarized notes made by Thomas Reines in his *Observationes in Suidam*. Jacobs informs us that C.G. Müller, in the preface to Reines' *Observationes in Suidam*, published in 1819, p. XI, states that Olearius borrowed a copy of Morel's edition from the library in Zeitz, in which Reines made many notes. The book was never returned to the library in Zeitz, nor does Olearius mention it anywhere in his edition.

The division of the text into chapters introduced by Olearius has become the standard division of the text up to the present day.

1.3.4 Kayser's *editio maior*[40]

Kayser's *editio maior*, published in Zurich in 1844, can be regarded as the first real critical edition of the *corpus Philostrateum*. Posterity is divided between admirers and detractors of Kayser's achievement. I belong to the first group, finding myself in the good company of Preller 1846, Scheibe 1847, Miller 1849 and Westermann 1849. These critics praise the scope of Kayser's edition, his critical acumen and prudence in the treatment of the text. Cobet, in his 1859 articles in Mnemosyne, discusses countless passages from *VA* and he often disagrees with Kayser's textual choices but he nowhere rejects Kayser's achievement *in toto*. In two respects his edition could be criticized: some of his conjectures are too audacious[41] and his predilection for the readings of **A** is exaggerated.[42]

A different judgement on Kayser's work is voiced by Schanz 1883, who complains that Kayser's treatment of the *recensio* is insufficient: "Ich glaube nicht zuviel zu sagen, wenn ich behaupte, dass die bewunderungswürdigen Muster und Lehren, welche uns Lachmann und Madvig gegeben haben, an Kayser nahezu spurlos vorübergegangen sind. (…) In der Schätzung der Handschriften zeigt sich eine merkwürdige Unsicherkeit, selbst in den einfachen Fällen werden keine bündige Schlüsse gezogen." Schanz tries to substantiate this harsh judgement on the basis of Kayser's discussion of the relationship of two mss. of the *Vitae Sophistarum*, Vaticanus gr. 64 (ρ) and Hafniensis 60 (k). In discussing Kayser's treatment Schanz does not bother to indicate to which of Kayser's works he refers; it turns out to be Kayser's separate edition of the *VS*, published in 1838, when the stemmatical method was still in its infancy. About the Copenhagen ms. Kayser 1838, VIII–IX states: "Ex libro fluxit, qui plerumque ρ correctum referebat, quominus enim ex ipso ρ descriptum putem, differentiae quaedam non patiuntur." In order to prove that k is a direct copy of ρ Schanz discusses a number of passages in which the reading of k can be explained as resulting from misreading the text of ρ; he does not discuss the passages which according to Kayser make direct derivation of k from ρ unlikely. So Kayser does recognize that k derives from ρ (and thus shows that he is aware of the stemmatic method) but Schanz takes him to task because of the fact that he is reluctant to regard k as a *direct* apograph of ρ. But how can we have full certainty about the hypothesis of direct descendance? It is quite possible

40 See Boter 2022, XVI–XVII. The *editio maior* was reprinted without changes in Zurich in 1853. This edition is digitally available at https://archive.org/details/flaviiphilostra00kaysgoog/mode/2up?view=theater (accessed 20 December 2022).

41 Jones 2005, vol. 1, 25 speaks of "Kayser's overly bold emendations".

42 Jones 2005, vol. 1, 22 calls **A** "Kayser's pet".

that an intermediate ms. between ρ and k already contained the readings in k which result from misreading the script of ρ. In general, direct descendance of one ms. from another ms. can hardly ever be proved with absolute certainty on internal grounds and therefore I prefer Kayser's prudence to Schanz' confidence.[43]

As we see, Schanz' negative evaluation of Kayser's dealing with the *recensio* is founded on a very shaky basis. Schanz does not express himself on Kayser's merits as an editor. However, in the 1893 Teubner edition of the *Imagines* we read about Kayser's editions (pp. V–VI of the *praefatio*): "(…) veremur tamen, ne adsentiantur omnes acri utique ac severo, quod *de his editionibus* fecit Martinus Schanz Mus. Rhen. XXXVIII 305, iudicio" (my italics). Thus Schanz' judgement on Kayser's treatment of the *recensio* is extended to his merits as an editor. This negative overall judgement of Kayser is repeated by Stefec 2010, 65, who speaks about the "scharf kritisierte Edition des Heidelberger Altphilologen Karl Ludwig Kayser". In support of this statement Stefec refers to Schanz' miscellaneum in RhM (p. 65, n. 7). In the same note he also refers to the preface by H. Usener in his edition of Kayser's *Homerische Abhandlungen* (Leipzig 1881), published after Kayser's death in 1872, for information about Kayser's life and works. By mentioning Usener's sketch of Kayser in the same breath as Schanz' negative verdict Stefec might seem to be creating the impression that Usener shared Schanz' negative judgement on Kayser's achievements but the opposite is true: Usener is very positive about Kayser in general and about his work on Philostratus in particular.[44] Stefec does not mention further instances of "scharfe Kritik" of Kayser's work on Philostratus.

I have found it necessary to give a rather elaborate treatment of the judgement on Kayser because of my great admiration for his work on Philostratus and because of my conviction that the harsh judgement expressed by Schanz, the editors of the Teubner *Imagines* and Stefec is unjust. To my mind, Kayser is one of the giants on whose shoulders all later students of the text of Philostratus are standing. At the same time, I have illustrated how a seemingly trivial (and in fact quite misplaced) judgement by one scholar can have a snowball effect and finally turn into a full scale misjudgement of another scholar's achievement.

1.3.5 The edition by Westermann[45]

Westermann's edition of the complete Philostratus and Callistratus was published in Paris in 1849, in the Didot series. As Westermann states in the preface, he took Kayser's

43 Stefec 2010, 75 states that the Copenhagen ms. (his H) is a direct copy of Vaticanus gr. 64 (his V) but he does not adduce evidence in favour of this thesis.

44 See for instance p. xiv: "die vorzügliche sonderausgabe der Vitae Sophistarum".

45 This edition is digitally available at https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:001048322 (accessed 20 December 2022).

editio maior as the fundament for his edition. He realizes that, by publishing his edition only five years after Kayser's, he may incur the reproach of reaping another man's harvest. However, he felt encouraged to undertake the task of preparing the Didot edition by Kayser himself, whom he calls *amicus carissimus*. Westermann adds a number of conjectures of his own; he introduces an entirely new punctuation and he divides the longer chapters into sections.

1.3.6 Kayser's *editio minor*[46]

Kayser's *editio minor* of the complete Philostratus was published in the Teubner series in 1870–1871, in two volumes. The first volume, containing the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, the *Letters of Apollonius of Tyana* and Eusebius' *Contra Hieroclem*, appeared in 1870. In the preface (p. VII–VIII) Kayser mentions the three reviewers of his edition (Preller, Scheibe and Miller), his friend Westermann, who published his Didot edition of the complete Philostratus in 1849, and the Dutch scholar Cobet. The bulk of Kayser's preface is constituted by a detailed discussion of a considerable number of passages where Kayser answers Cobet's objections concerning Kayser's choices in the *editio maior*. In quite a number of passages Kayser adopts the proposals by the scholars just mentioned. Further, there are many passages where Kayser prints a conjecture which he had proposed in the apparatus or notes in his first edition. Finally, he introduces a number of new conjectures of his own.[47] The *editio minor* does not have a real critical apparatus but only a restricted number of variant readings (*adnotatio critica*) after the *praefatio*, as was customary with Teubner editions of the period. It is regrettable that Kayser did not use the division of the longer chapters into sections introduced by Westermann.

1.3.7 The two Loeb editions of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*[48]

Kayser's *editio minor* provided the basis for the two Loeb editions. The first of these was published by F.C. Conybeare in 1912. Only in a very few places does Conybeare depart from the text of Kayser's *editio minor*; these deviations are sometimes not explicitly mentioned (as in 2.6 [p. 43.24–25] where Kayser's *editio minor* has δεξάμενοι δὲ πλὴν τῶν κρεῶν πάντα ἀπήλασαν [τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς] καὶ ἐχώρουν πρὸς ἕω, for which Conybeare prints δεξάμενοι δὲ πλὴν τῶν κρεῶν πάντα ἀπήλασαν ἐς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ ἐχώρουν πρὸς ἕω)

46 See Boter 2022, XVII–XVIII. This edition is digitally available at https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10994469?page=1 (accessed 20 December 2022).

47 I therefore disagree with Christopher Jones (2005, vol. 1, p. 23) when he writes: "Despite the many criticisms of his methods expressed by Cobet and others, Kayser appears to have done no further work on the *Life* after 1844."

48 See Boter 2022, XVIII–XIX.

while elsewhere they are announced explicitly in a footnote (as in 6.20.2 [p. 204.7] where he conjectures μόνου for the transmitted μόνοι).

Almost a century later Conybeare's Loeb edition was replaced by the edition by Christopher Jones, who published the *Life* in 2005, in two volumes,[49] followed by a third volume containing the testimonia, the *Letters of Apollonius* and Eusebius' treatise, published in 2006. Unlike his predecessor Jones pays ample attention to the Greek text. He has not investigated the ms. tradition, calling his text "an interim text" (vol. 1, p. 25) but he has made extensive use of conjectures either unknown to Kayser or made after Kayser's time, notably the ones made by Reiske and Jackson, for which see below. Further, he introduced a number of conjectures of his own invention.

1.4 Critical work on the text of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*[50]

Apart from the editions discussed in the previous section numerous scholars have contributed to the reconstruction of the authentic text of *VA*. Many of these made only one or a few conjectures, often proposed in commentaries on other authors, as was the custom in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when scholarly journals did not yet exist; see for instance Faber's commentary on Sappho and Anacreon (1680) or Koen's edition of Gregorius Corinthius' *De dialectis* (1766). From the early nineteenth century on there are monographs (such as Hamaker's *Lectiones Philostrateae* [1816]), dissertations (e.g. Van Wulfften Palthe's *Dissertatio litteraria continens observationes grammaticas et criticas in Philostratum, habita imprimis vitae Apollonii ratione* [1887]), chapters in books with titles such as Madvig's *Adversaria critica ad scriptores Graecos et Latinos* (1870) and articles in scholarly journals (for instance Cobet's *Miscellanea critica. Vita Apollonii Tyanensis* and *Annotationes ad Philostratum I. Ad vitam Apollonii Tyanensis* (1859), Richards' *Notes on the Philostrati* [1909], Platt's *Miscellanea* [1911] and Lucarini's *Ad Philostrati Vitam Apollonii* [2004]).

The most prolific authors of conjectures are Josephus Justus Scaliger, Richard Bentley, Johann Jacob Reiske, Friedrich Jacobs, Carel Gabriël Cobet and John Jackson. Remarkably enough, four of these scholars did not publish their conjectures. Scaliger's conjectures are found in the margins of the copy of the Aldine edition preserved in the library of Leiden University (siglum 760A5); Bentley added his conjectures in two copies of the edition by Morel, presently in the British library (sigla 678h8 and 679g1314); Reiske's two very rich sets of notes are preserved in the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen (siglum NKS 111 octavo);[51] John Jackson wrote his conjectures in a copy of Conybeare's edition, nowadays in the possession of Robert Parker in Oxford. Jacobs wrote several works on Philostratus in the beginning of the nineteenth century,

49 A revised edition, still bearing the date 2005 on the title page, was published in 2012.

50 See Boter 2022, XIX–XX.

51 A selection of Reiske's notes was published by Schenkl 1893.

notably his commented edition of the *Imagines* (Leipzig 1825) and his translation of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (Stuttgart 1829–1832). The Mnemosyne articles by Cobet (1859) have already been mentioned above.

As will become clear in the course of this set of critical notes, the transmitted text of *VA* often is in need of correction. In countless passages I have gladly accepted the suggestions of my predecessors.

2. Philostratus' *Graecitas*[52]

The difficulties which an editor of Philostratus has to confront are twofold. In the first place, living and working in the third century AD, and belonging to the Second Sophistic, Philostratus, just like his contemporaries, aims at imitating the Greek of the Classical period but does not always do so in practice, with regard to both morphology and syntax. In the second place, within the group of Second Sophistic authors, Philostratus takes up a position of his own, by deliberately straining the rules of syntax. Two quotations of earlier scholars have been of primary importance to me when studying and establishing the text of *VA*, the first by W. Schmid, the second by Photius.

With regard to the morphology of Philostratus and other authors of the period Schmid writes (*Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern* 4.597): "Die Zahl der Vulgarismen, welche den Atticisten auch in der Verbalflexion mituntergelaufen sind, ist sehr erheblich: dagegen ist gar nicht aufzukommen, und die Textkritiker sollten es füglich aufgeben, nach Dindorfscher und holländischer Art [here Schmid refers to Cobet and his school], ihnen, den baculus attischer Regelmässigkeit in der Hand, das Pensum zu korrigieren, auch gegen das Zeugnis aller oder der besseren Handschriften." Therefore I have followed the transmitted text in variously printing ἐς and εἰς, γίγνομαι and γίνομαι. In 1.9.1–2 (p. 9.16–22) the word ὑγίεια/ὑγεία occurs twice; in p. 9.16 the mss. unanimously have ὑγιείας, but in p. 9.22 **A** and **E** have ὑγείαν while **F** has ὑγίειαν. Because **F** appears to change the transmitted text deliberately and rather often (see above, p. 5) I assume that the archetype had ὑγείαν. Although nothing is easier than accepting **F**'s ὑγίειαν I have followed **A** and **E** in printing ὑγείαν because I think it possible that Philostratus used both forms of the word, just as he varied between γίγνομαι and γίνομαι. It may well be the case that some scholars find fault with this decision but I would rather accept their criticism than run the risk of correcting the author.

By the same token I have also accepted deviant morphology, such as the aorist optative ἄροιμι in 3.24.2 (p. 89.25) for which Cobet conjectured ἄραιμι (see note ad loc. [pp. 104–105]), and καταδαρθέντες in 2.36.3 (p. 68.15) for which Cobet conjectured καταδαρθόντες (see note ad loc. [p. 87]), and so on.

52 See Boter 2019, 37–43; Boter 2022, XX–XXIV.

With regard to Philostratus' syntax Photius makes the following statement, with which I wholeheartedly agree (Photius, *Bibliotheca* "codex" 241, 331a25–37):

> Οὗτος δ' ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀπαγγελίᾳ μὲν κέχρηται γλυκείᾳ καὶ ποικιλωτάτῃ καὶ λέξεσιν ἐμπρεπούσαις φράσει τοιαύτῃ, συντάξεσι μέντοι γε τοιαύταις οἵαις οὐκ ἄν τις ἄλλος ἐς τὸ συγγράφειν τεταγμένος· δοκοῦσι γάρ πως ἀσυνταξίαις μᾶλλον ἐοικέναι ἢ συντάξεως ὁτιοῦν μετέχειν. Οὗτος δ' ἴσμεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὡς πολυμαθέστατος ὢν οὐκ ἂν διαμαρτίᾳ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ εἰς ταύτην ἐξηνέχθη τὴν ἰδιότροπον τῶν συντάξεων καινοτομίαν, ἀλλ' ἅ τισι τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων σπανιάκις ἴσως εἴρηται, τούτοις οὗτος εἰς κόρον ἀπεχρήσατο, πεπαρρησιασμένην αὐτῶν τὴν χρῆσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, καὶ οὐδ' εἰς μάτην, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἡδέος χάριν· ἔχουσι γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν λόγων τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ ἐπαφρόδιτον.
>
> This Philostratus employs a sweet and much varied style, with words which fit such a style. His syntax, however, is such as no other writer would ever have employed; it makes the impression of absence of syntax rather than of syntax. We know that the man was very learned and therefore it cannot be supposed that he used this characteristic and unprecedented syntax as the result of ignorance; rather he used to satiety the phrases which some older authors used incidentally, making free use of them, not without motive, but for pleasure's sake; for such phrases too have attractiveness and charm.

In the same vein Photius writes in "codex" 44, 9b21–24:

> Ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν σαφής, ἐπίχαρίς τε καὶ ἀφοριστικὸς καὶ βρύων γλυκύτητος, καὶ τῷ ἀρχαϊσμῷ καὶ ταῖς καινοπρεπεστέραις τῶν συντάξεων ἐμφιλοτιμούμενος.
>
> In his style he is clear, charming, aphoristic and full of sweetness, taking pride in archaisms and innovative syntax.

Photius' statements[53] are quoted with approval by Kayser 1844, *praefatio* VII and Schmid 4.8–9. Schmid 4.9 remarks: "Leichtigkeit, Anmut, Buntheit, Süssigkeit, Fernhaltung grammatischer Pedanterie besonders im Syntaktischen sind die Eigenschaften, welche die Nachwelt an dem Stil des zweiten Philostratus zu rühmen findet, und nach eben diesen hat er mit Bewusstsein gestrebt." Kayser 1844, *praefatio* VIII, after listing a number of syntactic peculiarities in Philostratus, adds: "Noli tamen propterea contendere scriptorem vitiosa usum esse oratione, siquidem illa in tali auctore non vitia sunt, sed anomaliae de industria usurpatae, quo referemus etiam ionicae dialecti quaedam formae."

I will quote Kayser's very instructive list of Philostratus' ἀσυνταξίαι (Kayser 1844, *praefatio* VII–VIII), adding examples of each phenomenon (most of which are adduced by Kayser) in footnotes.

> Eae ἀσυνταξίαι efficiuntur laxitate quadam structurae aut brevitate aut novitate. Laxis

53 See also, e.g., Eustathius *ad Iliadem* 1.360.13–14 Van der Valk ὅτι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις τῶν παλαιῶν ἀγαθῶν ῥητόρων σολοικοφανῆ καὶ οὕτω καινοπρεπῆ, δηλοῦται σαφῶς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Φιλοστράτου.

constructionibus adsignamus nominativos pendentes, qui modo partitivi[54] modo absoluti[55] genitivi, modo aliorum casuum[56] vicem sustinent, modo indicem sequentium[57] praemittunt; nominativum cum infinitivo pro accusativo positum;[58] infinitivum particulis εἰ, ἐπεί, ὅτι, ὅτε, aliis junctum;[59] enuntiata explicativa particula καί prioribus annexa;[60] homonyma per figuram ἓν διὰ δυοῖν composita;[61] multaque alia, quibus gratae neglegentiae species conciliatur orationi; e.c. conjungendorum in enumeratione sejunctio.[62] Contraria est ei laxitati brevitas paene aenigmatica, ut quum omisso verbo decurtatur enuntiatum ac nomen tantum ponitur cum particulis ὡς, ὅτε, μή, aliis.[63] Nova ista sunt, si paucissima apud veteres scriptores exempla excipias et ipsa; praeterea tam multae καινοπρεπείας species hic inveniuntur, ut aegre iis enarrandis modum ponas; itaque subsistam in frequentioribus aut abstrusioribus, cujus generis sunt diversi numeri ad idem subjectum relati;[64] cum concretis abstracta diversis numeris composita;[65] nominativi cum accusativis mixti;[66] indicativus pro infinitivo insertus;[67] substantivum usurpatum, ubi

54 *Im.* 1.27 (p. 332.8–11 Kayser = p. 51.22–25 Benndorf-Schenkl) ἑπτὰ (add. οὗτοι Schenkl) οἱ Πολυνείκει τῷ Θηβαίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατακτώμενοι οὐδεὶς ἐνόστησε πλὴν Ἀδράστου καὶ Ἀμφιάρεω, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἡ Καδμεία κατέσχεν.

55 *VA* 1.5 (p. 5.17–19) καὶ δῆτα ἀφικομένη (sc. ἡ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μήτηρ) αἱ μὲν δμωαὶ προσεῖχον τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἐσκεδασμέναι κατὰ τὸν λειμῶνα, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς ὕπνον ἀπήχθη κλιθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πόᾳ.

56 *Her.* 4.10 (p. 5.3–5 De Lannoy) ὅθεν διφθέραν τε ἐναρμοσάμενος καὶ σμινύην φέρων καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐς ἄστυ ὁδὸν ἔτι γινώσκων, βρύει μοι τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ πάντα κτέ.

57 *VA* 1.1.1 (p. 1.4–6) μὴ γὰρ αἱμάττειν τοὺς βωμούς, ἀλλὰ ἡ μελιττοῦτα καὶ ὁ λιβανωτὸς καὶ τὸ ἐφυμνῆσαι, φοιτᾶν ταῦτα τοῖς θεοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου κτέ.

58 *VA* 3.14.2 (p. 80.24–27) πλησίον δὲ τούτου κρατῆρα εἶναι πυρός, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολυβδώδη, καπνὸν δὲ οὐδένα ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄττειν, οὐδὲ ὀσμὴν οὐδεμίαν, οὐδὲ ὑπερχυθῆναί ποτε ὁ κρατὴρ οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἀναδίδοσθαι τοσοῦτος, ὡς μὴ ὑπερβλύσαι τοῦ βόθρου.

59 *VA* 3.13 (p. 80.14) πύλας δὲ εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλας εἶναι τῷ ὄχθῳ, οὐκ εἰδέναι.

60 *VA* 5.19.1 (p. 158.18–21) μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Νέρωνος βαλανεῖον καὶ ἃ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶπε, διῃτᾶτο Ἀθήνησιν ὁ Δημήτριος οὕτω γενναίως, ὡς μηδὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν Νέρων περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὕβριζεν, ἐξελθεῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

61 *VS* 2.27.82.4 (p. 125.21–24 Stefec) μελέτης δὲ ὁ Ἱππόδρομος οὔτε ἐν ἀγρῷ διαιτώμενος ἠμέλει οὔτε ὁδοιπορῶν οὔτε ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρεῖττον ὄλβου κτῆμα ἐκάλει αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Εὐριπίδου τε ὕμνων καὶ Ἀμφίονος. Here Stefec accepts Jahn's conjecture ἐν θαλάττῃ for the transmitted ἐν Θετταλίᾳ.

62 *VS* 2.10.41.1 (p. 100.6–9 Stefec) ἠκροῶντο δὲ ὥσπερ εὐστομούσης ἀηδόνος, τὴν εὐγλωττίαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ εὔστροφον τοῦ φθέγματος καὶ τοὺς πεζῇ τε καὶ ξὺν ᾠδῇ ῥυθμούς.

63 *VA* 6.21.3 (p. 206.25–207.1) ὃ γὰρ ἐμαυτόν γε ἡγούμην, ὁπότε ἡ ναῦς, ἑτέρους τε, οἳ μὴ ἀδίκων ἅπτονται, οὔπω δικαίους φατέ, οὐδ' ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι.

64 *VA* 4.21.2 (p. 124.16–20) ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀβρότεροι τῶν Ξέρξου γυναικῶν ἐφ' αὑτοὺς στέλλεσθε οἱ γέροντες, οἱ νέοι, τὸ ἐφηβικόν, οἳ πάλαι μὲν ὤμνυσαν ἐς Ἀγραύλου φοιτῶντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖσθαι καὶ ὅπλα θήσεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἴσως ὀμοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος βακχεύσειν καὶ θύρσον λήψεσθαι κόρυν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέρον, γυναικομίμῳ δὲ μορφώματι, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, αἰσχρῶς διαπρέπον.

65 *VA* 8.7.9 (p. 265.9–12) καλῶ δὲ σοφοὺς μὲν ποιητικήν, μουσικήν, ἀστρονομίαν, σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς μὴ ἀγοραίους, ὑποσόφους δὲ ζωγραφίαν, πλαστικήν, ἀγαλματοποιούς, κυβερνήτας, γεωργούς, ἣν ταῖς ὥραις ἔπωνται· καὶ γὰρ αἵδε αἱ τέχναι σοφίας οὐ πολὺ λείπονται. In the second edition Kayser prints σοφάς for σοφούς.

66 *Im.* 2.9 (p. 353.18–21 Kayser = p. 79.4–6 Benndorf-Schenkl) τὰ τείχη, ὦ παῖ, καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπραμένας οἰκίας καὶ αἱ Λυδαὶ αἱ καλαί, Πέρσαις ταῦτα ἀφῶμεν ἄγειν τε καὶ αἴρειν ὅ τι αὐτῶν ἀλωτόν.

67 Here Kayser refers to *VA* 7.30.3 (p. 247.15–16) τὴν δὲ ἀλώπεκα 'τί τούτῳ χρησόμεθα,' εἶπε, 'παρ' οὗ

per constructionem nonnisi verbum exspectatur;[68] transitus ex oratione recta in obliquam;[69] modorum enallage;[70] plurimorum denique vocabulorum simplicium et compositorum inusitata conformatio, notio, constructio, quae singula demonstrat Index I.

The fact that these and similar anomalies occur so frequently and therefore can be regarded as part of Philostratus' style can help us to establish the text in passages where the transmission is not unanimous. For instance, at 1.30 (p. 30.23–31.1) Apollonius answers Damis' remark that the day before Apollonius did not answer Damis' question concerning the name of Sappho's friend as follows: "οὔκ, ὦ χρηστέ," εἶπεν "ἀλλ' ἐξηγούμενός σοι τοὺς νόμους τῶν ὕμνων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ ὅπῃ τὰ Αἰολέων ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατόν τε καὶ τὸ ἴδιον Παμφύλων παρήλλαξε, πρὸς ἄλλῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγενόμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἤρου με περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος κτέ." ἐξηγούμενος is found in **A**; **F** has ἐξηγουμένου, while a recent hand in **E** corrected the original (and now illegible) reading into ἐξηγοῦμαι νῦν; Laur. CS 155 has ἐξηγούμην, which is found in all the editions. To my mind, **A**'s ἐξηγούμενος is perfectly acceptable in Philostratus (see note ad loc. [p. 52]).

On the other hand, we should be reluctant about rejecting the transmitted text in passages where we are bewildered by irregular syntax. In such cases, rather than printing the text accompanied by *cruces desperationis*, I have added something like *locus dubius* (e.g. 3.31.3 [p. 95.26]) or *locus valde suspectus* (e.g. 3.15.4 [p. 83.1–2]) in the critical apparatus. Thus one might say that I apply the so-called "principle of charity" with regard to Philostratus' syntax: as long as it seems to be possible to make sense of the syntax I have accepted the transmitted text.

With regard to conjectures I have tried to steer a middle course between conservatism and audacity. On the one hand I have not tried to save the transmitted text at all costs when a convincing conjecture is available; see for instance 2.35.1 (p. 67.1) where Reiske's ἀττούσης is excellent while to some it might seem possible to keep the transmitted ἀπιούσης (see note ad loc. [pp. 85–86]). There are also cases where the transmitted text is grammatically and semantically possible but where a conjecture is far superior; see for instance 5.4 (p. 148.11) where I have changed the transmitted plural ἕτεροι into the singular ἕτερος (see note ad loc. [pp. 170–171]). On the other hand I mention many conjectures (including my own) in the apparatus without printing them in the text; see

μήτε ἀναλύει τις, μήτε δείκνυταί τι τῶν ἐξιόντων ἴχνος;' I have accepted Reiske's conjecture εἰπε⟨ῖν⟩ for the transmitted εἶπε.

68 *VA* 2.11.1 (p.47.4–8) "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε "τό τε ἀναπηδῶντι μὲν τῷ ἵππῳ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν ἐφεῖναι τὸν χαλινόν, κατὰ πρανοῦς δὲ ἰόντι οἱ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνθέλκειν, καὶ τὸ καταψῆσαι δὲ τὰ ὦτα ἢ τὴν χαίτην, καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ ἡ μάστιξ σοφοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἱππέως, καὶ ἐπαινοίην ἂν τὸν ὧδε ὀχούμενον."

69 *VA* 6.12.1 (p. 196.26–197.2) τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον "σοὶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἂν" φάναι "βασκήναιμι ἐγὼ λόγου φιλητικόῳ τε, ὡς ὁρῶ, τυγχάνοντι καὶ σοφίαν ἀσπαζομένῳ πᾶσαν," Θεσπεσίωνι δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος λῆρον τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἡγεῖται, μὴ ἂν ἐπαντλῆσαι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν λόγους.

70 Here Kayser refers to *VS* 1.24.66.1 (p. 44.7–10 Stefec) Οὐδὲ τὸν Βυζάντιον σοφιστὴν παραλείψω Μάρκον, ὑπὲρ οὗ κἂν ἐπιπλήξαιμι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰ τοιόσδε γενόμενος, ὁποῖον δηλώσω, μήπω τυγχάνοι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης. Stefec prints τυγχάνει.

for instance 3.56 (p. 108.5) where, although I think it is possible that the second κῆποι may be an interpolation, I have kept it in the text for fear of correcting the author (see note ad loc. [p. 125]). As I have explained in the *praefatio* to my edition (p. XXVIII) I have been very liberal in reporting conjectures, both as a tribute to my predecessors, for whom I have the deepest admiration, and because of their diagnostic value. Many of these conjectures are discussed in the critical notes.

In the critical notes I make use of the conceptual apparatus which is in general use in classical philology. However, terms such as "Topic", "Focus" and "Theme construction" may not be familiar to all classical scholars. For these and other terms I refer to Van Emde Boas *et alii*, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, chapter 60, esp. §§ 22–38 (pp. 711–721).

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

For full information, see Boter 2022, LVI–LXIII.

Manuscripts of the first family

A Parisinus gr. 1801, first half of the fourteenth century. Digitally available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107218352 (accessed 20 December 2022).

S Laurentianus Conventi Soppressi 155, first half of the fifteenth century. From 8.7.10 (p. 265.17) on **S** is a gemellus of **A**.

Manuscripts of the second family

C Parisinus suppl. gr. 607, tenth century. **C** contains excerpts from the beginning of the first book. Digitally available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8593585j/f2.item (accessed 20 December 2022).

E Escorialensis Φ.III.8 (227 de Andrés), twelfth century.

F Laurentianus plut. 69.33, circa 1000 AD. Digitally available at http://mss.bmlonline.it/?search=plut.69.33 (accessed 20 December 2022).

Q Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 329, first half of the fourteenth century. **Q** starts at 4.25.3 (p. 128.1) ἐζωγράφει. Digitally available at https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.43176 (accessed 7 January 2023).

Secondary manuscripts

Cracoviensis, Biblioteka Zgromadzenia Księży Misjonarzy, VIII.16.2, circa 1450–1480 AD; formerly Vratislaviensis Rehdigeranus 39. This ms. is a gemellus of Vaticanus gr. 1016.

Laurentianus plut. 69.26, first half of the fifteenth century. Digitally available at http://mss.bmlonline.it/?search=plut.69.26 (accessed 20 December 2022).

Laurentianus Conventi Soppressi 155, first half of the fifteenth century. Up to 8.7.10 (p. 265.17) this ms. is a gemellus of Lugdunensis Batavorum 73D.

Lugdunensis Batavorum BPG 73D, first half of the fourteenth century. Up to 8.7.10 (p. 265.17) this ms. is a gemellus of Laurentianus Conventi Soppressi 155.

Marcianus gr. App. Cl. XI.29 (coll. 1376), fourteenth century. This ms. is a gemellus of Parisinus gr. 1696. The common source of these two mss. derives from **E**. From

8.30.2 (p. 294.23) on Marc.XI.29 with its gemellus Par.1696 comes in the place of **E**, which breaks off there, and it bears the siglum **M**.

Marcianus gr. 391 (coll. 856), circa 1450 AD.

Parisinus gr. 1696, written in 1320 AD in Thessalonica, partly by Joannes Catrares, who also made a number of corrections. This ms. is a gemellus of Marcianus gr. App. Cl. XI.29. The common source of these two mss. derives from **E**. From 8.30.2 (p. 294.23) on Par.1696 with its gemellus Marc.XI.29 comes in the place of **E**, which breaks off there, and it bears the siglum **P**. Digitally available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10086091c (accessed 20 December 2022).

Vaticanus gr. 1016, circa 1450–1460 AD. This ms. is a gemellus of Cracoviensis VIII.16.2.

Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 110, first half of the fifteenth century. Digitally available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.gr.110 (accessed 20 December 2022).

X^{ac}	**X** ante correctionem
X^{acuv}	**X** ante correctionem ut videtur
X^{pc}	**X** post correctionem
X^{ac1}	**X** ante correctionem, a prima manu correctus
X^{ac2}	**X** ante correctionem, ab altera manu correctus
X^{acuv1}	**X** ante correctionem ut videtur, a prima manu correctus
X^{1pc}	**X** post correctionem, a prima manu correctus
X^{2pc}	**X** post correctionem, ab altera manu correctus
X$^{1/2pc}$	**X** post correctionem, a prima vel altera manu correctus
X^{uv}	**X** ut videtur
X^{mg}	**X** in margine
X^{mgγρ}	**X** in margine γράφεται
X^{sl}	**X** supra lineam
X^{il}	**X** infra lineam
X^{txt}	**X** in textu

Ancient authors who refer to the *Vita Apollonii Tyanei*

AP Appendix, Oracula = *Anthologia Palatina, Appendix: Oracula*.
[Arist.] *Mir.* = [Aristoteles], *Mirabilium auscultationes*.
Cedr. = Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum.*
Cyr.Alex. *Contra Iul.* = Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Contra Iulianum*.
Ep.Ap. = Apollonius Tyaneus, *Epistulae*.
Eus. = Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem*.
Phot. = Photius, *Bibliotheca*.
sch.Ar. = *Scholia in Aristophanem*.
sch.Lyc. = *Scholia in Lycophronem*.
Suda = Suda, *Lexicon*.

Sync. = Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga chronographica*.
Thom.Mag. = Thomas Magister, *Ecloga vocum Atticarum*.
Tz. *Chil*. = Joannes Tzetzes, *Chiliades*.
Tz. *in Hom. Il.* = Joannes Tzetzes, *Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem*.
Tz. *Schol. in Hom. Il.* = Joannes Tzetzes, *Scholia ad exegesin in Homeri Iliadem*.
[Zonaras] = [Zonaras], *Lexicon*.

Editions

A. Manutius (1501–1502). Digitally available at https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_6qXWYxZPPpcC (accessed 20 December 2022).
F. Morel (1608). Digitally available at https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_C41tWMPR3q0C (accessed 20 December 2022).
G. Olearius (1709). Digitally available at https://archive.org/details/tatonphilostrato00phil/page/n7/mode/2up?view=theater (accessed 20 December 2022).
C.L. Kayser (1844) (= Kayser^{1}). Digitally available at https://archive.org/details/flaviiphilostra00kaysgoog/mode/2up?view=theater (accessed 20 December 2022).
A. Westermann (1849). Digitally available at https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:001048322 (accessed 20 December 2022).
C.L. Kayser (1870) (= Kayser^{2}). Digitally available at https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10994469?page=1 (accessed 20 December 2022).
F.C. Conybeare (1912).
C.P. Jones (2005).

Kayser^{1}	C.L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt. Philostrati Junioris Imagines. Callistrati descriptiones*, Zurich 1844.
Kayser^{1Add}	Kayser^{1} in addendis ad notas
Kayser^{1App}	Kayser^{1} in apparatu
Kayser^{1C}	Kayser^{1} in corrigendis
Kayser^{1N}	Kayser^{1} in notis
Kayser^{1T}	Kayser^{1} in textu
Kayser^{2}	C.L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati Opera*, *vol. I*, Leipzig 1870.
Kayser^{2Adn}	Kayser^{2} in adnotatione critica
Kayser^{2T}	Kayser^{2} in textu
Kayser$^{1/2}$	Kayser^{1} et Kayser^{2}

A list of scholars quoted in the critical apparatus is presented in Boter 2022, LX–LXIII.

CRITICAL NOTES

BOOK ONE

1.1.1 (p. 1.4) Οἱ τὸν Σάμιον Πυθαγόραν ἐπαινοῦντες τάδε ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ φασιν· ὡς Ἴων μὲν οὔπω εἴη (...) καὶ καθαρεύοι βρώσεως, ὁπόση ἐμψύχων, καὶ **θῦσαι**.

θῦσαι **A E FC** : τοῦ θῦσαι Suda : θυσίας Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : lacunam dubitanter statuit Jackson

In the transmitted text, the infinitive θῦσαι depends on καθαρεύοι and thus forms a sequel to the noun βρώσεως. I have not found instances of καθαρεύω followed by an infinitive which is not preceded by τοῦ (the addition of the article τοῦ before θῦσαι in the Suda is an obvious conjecture) but the change of construction from βρώσεως to θῦσαι fits in with Philostratus' idiosyncratic syntax; Schmid 4.115–116 illustrates that Philostratus regularly coordinates syntactically different constituents (see also Schmid 4.524–526). The transition is somewhat softened by the intervening clause ὁπόση ἐμψύχων; and the infinitive may also anticipate the immediately following μὴ γὰρ αἱμάττειν τοὺς βωμούς. Kayser^{1} suggested θυσίας in his apparatus; Kayser^{2} printed it in his text, probably encouraged by Preller 1846, 466 n. and Scheibe 1847, 428.

1.1.3 (p. 2.3) καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου σφισὶν **ἐπήσκητο**.

ἐπήσκητο **A E FC** Suda (utroque loco) : ἐπησκεῖτο Richards

At first sight Richards' correction seems to be necessary here: the imperfect indicates the actual practising of silence. But in 4.17 (p. 121.12) the mss. have ἤσκηντο where Kayser prints ἠσκοῦντο. Schmid 4.76–77 lists a number of passages where the perfect is used as a present and the pluperfect as an imperfect. See also Schmid 2.53, 3.73, 75. Therefore I have decided to keep the transmitted ἐπήσκητο here and ἤσκηντο in book 4. See also the note on 4.17 (p. 121.12).

1.1.3 (p. 2.7) χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' **ὔμμιν** θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός.

ὔμμιν **A**^{1pc} Suda ε1003**GI**, Suda π3121 : ὕμμιν **E**^{1sl} : ὕμιν **E** : ὔμιν **A**^{ac1} : ὑμῖν **FC** Suda ε1003**VM**

In Homer, the Aeolic dative ὔμμιν occurs seven times. In five of these passages the metre requires a trochee. At *Il.* 10.380 ὔμμιν (for which West reports the variant reading ὑμῖν in papyrus 46 after correction and in papyrus 425 as well as in the medieval ms. G) is followed by χαρίσαιτο so that the second syllable of ὔμμιν is long by position; at *Od.* 20.367 ὔμμιν occurs at the end of the verse where ὑμῖν would have been equally possible. In later poetry instances of spondaic ὔμμιν (by position) are found e.g. in Pi. *O.* 13.14, *P.* 2.3; A.R. 3.562.

It is not our goal to establish what Empedocles himself wrote[71] but what Philostratus believed that Empedocles wrote. It goes without saying that ὔμμιν is *lectio difficilior* and this is illustrated by the way it is transmitted in **A** and **E** which both originally had the regular υμιν (disregarding the diacritics). Therefore it can be regarded as certain that the archetype had ὔμμιν. Philostratus may have found it in his source and anyway ὔμμιν adds an archaic flavour to the text which may very well have appealed to Philostratus.

1.2.1 (p. 2.15) Ἀδελφὰ γὰρ τούτοις ἐπιτηδεύσαντα Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ θειότερον ἢ ὁ Πυθαγόρας τῇ **φιλοσοφίᾳ** προσελθόντα κτέ.

φιλοσοφίᾳ Eus. (utroque loco) : σοφίᾳ **A E FC** Suda

The fact that Eusebius has φιλοσοφίᾳ in both passages where he quotes the phrase (8.26–27 [p. 120 des Places], 44.38–40 [p. 200 des Places]) shows that this reading is not an accidental slip but that it is what he read in his source. In *VA* (and probably elsewhere too, although I have not checked this) φιλοσοφία and σοφία and their cognates are often confused in the transmission; apart from the present passage see for instance 1.7.2 (p. 7.14), 1.19.1 (p. 19.10), 2.7.2 (p. 44.14). In this passage there are two arguments which plead in favour of φιλοσοφίᾳ, even if on the whole Eusebius is a less trustworthy witness in details than the mss. of *VA*. A TLG search gives some parallels for the phrase φιλοσοφίᾳ προσέρχεσθαι. First and foremost, the phrase recurs in *VA* 3.18 (p. 85.12–14) "ἡμεῖς" ἔφη "πάντα γινώσκομεν, ἐπειδὴ πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς γινώσκομεν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοι τις ἡμῶν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ μὴ πρῶτον εἰδὼς ἑαυτόν." Other passages include Arr. *Epict.* 4.11.24, Isidorus Pelusiota *Ep*. 1680.11 and Simp. *in Epict. Ench*. 30 (p. 303.60 Hadot). And because Pythagoras is credited with the invention of the word φιλοσοφία — real σοφία being reserved for the gods — the reading φιλοσοφίᾳ is plausible in itself.[72]

1.2.1 (p. 3.4) Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ Δημόκριτος ὁμιλήσαντες μάγοις καὶ πολλὰ δαιμόνια εἰπόντες οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν **τῆ⟨ς⟩ τέχνη⟨ς⟩**, Πλάτων τε βαδίσας εἰς Αἴγυπτον κτέ.

τῆ⟨ς⟩ τέχνη⟨ς⟩ Jackson : τῇ τέχνῃ **A E FC** Phot. Suda : τέχνῃ Eus.

Philostratus protests against those who accuse Apollonius of witchcraft because of his acquaintance with the Babylonian magi and the Indian Brahmans. He points at the precedent created by famous philosophers of the past: Empedocles, Pythagoras, Democritus and Plato, who also had contact with magi. Then he discusses Socrates and Anaxagoras who, just as Apollonius, had mantic powers.

71 The form ὔμμιν is found in *AP* 9.569 and Lucianus *Laps.* 2. The form ὑμῖν is found in Heraclid. Pont. fr. 77.10, Timae. 3b.566.F fr. 2*, S.E. *M*. 1.302 and D.L. 8.62, 66.

72 On the history of the word φιλόσοφος see now Moore 2020.

At p. 3.4 the transmitted text runs οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῇ τέχνῃ, which is found in all witnesses (Eusebius omits τῇ). The phrase literally means "they were not subjected to the art", that is, they did not get involved with it ("und [haben] sich doch dieser Kunst nicht ergeben", Jacobs; "yet never stooped to the black art", Conybeare; "without being seduced by the art", Jones). Jackson proposed changing the transmitted text into οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῆς τέχνης. On this reading, ὑπάγω has the meaning "*bring* a person *before the judgement-seat*" (LSJ s.v. A.II) so that the phrase οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῆς τέχνης means "they were not prosecuted for having practised the art" (for the genitive with such verbs see KG 1.380). To my mind Jackson is completely right.[73]

The point at stake here is not whether or not Apollonius and/or the other philosophers practised magic. According to Philostratus they did not. For Apollonius this appears from the explicit κακῶς γινώσκοντες at p. 3.2. For the others it appears from the very fact that they are mentioned in Philostratus' defence of Apollonius: it would have been foolish to adduce philosophers who according to Philostratus himself did practise magic in order to prove that Apollonius did not.[74] For Anaxagoras it is stated explicitly that his mantic powers were due to wisdom (σοφία).

What Philostratus wants to make clear is that Apollonius is accused (cf. the strongly negative διαβάλλουσιν at p. 3.2) of being a magus because he had contact with magi and because he was able to predict the future whereas others who did the same were not blamed for their behaviour. Apollonius gets what the others don't get (blame) and he does not get what others do get (praise for wisdom). This is both inconsistent and unfair, a thought which is expressed by κακῶς γινώσκοντες at p. 3.2 (which Jacobs correctly translates as "worin sie ihm ein großes Unrecht thun").

The whole argument, which takes up the first two sections of chapter 2, is divided into four steps. The first step deals with Empedocles, Pythagoras, Democritus, the second step with Plato, the third step with Socrates and the fourth step with Anaxagoras. The first element, absence of blame, is found in the first three steps, each time expressed in a different way: for Empedocles, Pythagoras and Democritus it is said that they οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῆς τέχνης, for Plato it is said that he οὔπω μαγεύειν ἔδοξε, and for Socrates Philostratus says ἢ διαβεβλήσεταί γε καὶ Σωκράτης. The phrase οὔπω μαγεύειν ἔδοξε indicates that it is the impression Plato made, not what he actually did; and the following phrase καίτοι πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων φθονηθεὶς ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ stresses that many people would have been happy to accuse Plato of unruly behaviour. This is a logical continuation of

73 Jackson's conjecture seems to have been anticipated by Phillimore, witness his translation, "yet they were never reputed to be of that profession". But Phillimore notes nothing about the Greek text here.

74 In reality, all philosophers mentioned by Philostratus (with the exception of Anaxagoras) were accused of witchcraft or illegitimate contact with the supernatural by some, as Jaap-Jan Flinterman has pointed out to me, drawing my attention to the following passages. All four philosophers are mentioned as experts in magic by Plin. *Nat.* 30.2.9–11 = DK 68B300.13; for Empedocles see also D.L. 8.59 = DK 82A3 = 32.Gorg. P5 Laks-Most and Apul. *Apol.* 27.3; for Pythagoras see Plu. *Num.* 8.4–10 and Lucianus *Gall.* 4.

οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῆς τέχνης; with the transmitted reading οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῇ τέχνῃ the logical sequel would have been (Πλάτων) οὔπω ἐμάγευε. The same goes for the phrase ἢ διαβεβλήσεταί γε καὶ Σωκράτης. — The second, positive element, praise for wisdom, is only found in connection with Anaxagoras.

Jackson's conjecture finds further support in 8.7.26 (p. 271.28–272.4) τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐρεῖ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔφασκε τοῦ δαιμονίου μανθάνειν; τί δὲ Θαλῆς τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, τὼ Ἴωνε (...); καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπήχθησαν οὗτοι δικαστηρίοις ἐφ' ἑτέραις αἰτίαις, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τῶν αἰτιῶν εἴρηται γόητας εἶναί σφας, ἐπειδὴ προγινώσκουσι.

1.2.2 (p. 3.12) καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν Ὀλυμπίασι μέν, ὁπότε ἥκιστα **ὗοι**, παρελθόντα ὑπὸ κωδίῳ εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἐπὶ προρρήσει ὄμβρου οἰκίαν τε, ὡς πεσεῖται, προειπόντα μὴ ψεύσασθαι κτέ.

ὗοι **A E F** Phot. Suda (bis) : ὕιοι (sic) **C** : ὗεν Kayser^{1C} : ὗε Kayser^{2}

The clause ὁπότε ἥκιστα ὗοι modifies Ὀλυμπίασι and means that it hardly ever rains during the Olympic Games in general; it does not refer to the specific Olympic Games of the anecdote about Anaxagoras. Kayser probably took the optative as iterative, construing it with the main clause; this is impossible because the main clause refers to a singular event (cf. Ael. *NA* 7.8; D.L. 2.10) and therefore Kayser conjectured ὗε. To my mind the transmitted optative can be maintained. For irregularities in Philostratus' use of the optative see Schmid 4.84–85, 4.90–91; for ὁπότε with the optative after a main clause in the present tense Schmid 4.91 refers to *VA* 3.1.2 (p. 73.14), *VS* 2.33.94 (p. 135.9 Stefec) and *Her.* 11.3 (p. 12.30–13.2 De Lannoy). If a change is needed the transmitted ὗοι might be replaced by the present ὕει; cf. 2.36.3 (p. 68.12) ὁπότε ἀγορὰ πλήθει.

As to the accentuation of Ὀλυμπίασι: the mss. and Photius (in Henry's edition) have Ὀλυμπιάσι. The locative Ὀλυμπίασι means "in Olympia", Ὀλυμπιάσι is dative plural of Ὀλυμπιάς, "Olympic Games" or "Olympiad". Ὀλυμπίασι was tacitly introduced by Kayser^{1} and repeated in Kayser^{2}. It is confirmed by the passages in Aelian and Diogenes Laërtius referred to in the preceding paragraph. Moreover, the plural Ὀλυμπιάσι is hard to account for in this context because the event took place during one specific occasion of the Olympic Games and not repeatedly during several Olympic Games. For the use of the toponym Olympia to refer to the Olympic Games one might think of the name of the German town of Bayreuth to indicate the Wagner *Festspiele* held in that town.

1.2.3 (p. 4.5–6) ἐπέστελλε δὲ βασιλεῦσι, σοφισταῖς, φιλοσόφοις, Ἠλείοις, Δελφοῖς, Ἰνδοῖς, Αἰγυπτίοις, ὑπὲρ θεῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐθῶν, ὑπὲρ ἠθῶν, ὑπὲρ νόμων, παρ' **οὓς** ὅ τι ***ἀνατράποιτο***, ἐπηνώρθου.

οὓς **C** (ci. Salmasius Bentley) : οἷς **A E F** Suda ‖ ἀνατράποιτο Jackson : ἂν πράττοιτο **A FC** : ἃς (sic) πράττοιτο **E** : ἂν πράττοι Suda : καὶ ἂν πράττοιτο Kayser^{1C} (nisi forte καὶ πράττοιτο voluerit) : ἁμαρτάνοιτο Kayser^{2}

The conjectures by Kayser[2] and Jackson remove ἄν which seems to be out of place with the iterative optative. Jackson's conjecture is superior, especially because it gives a nice contrast between ἀνατράποιτο and ἐπηνώρθου. I have followed Jones in accepting this conjecture.

Another problem concerns the relative παρ' οἷς, which is found in all witnesses except **C**. One possibility is to make the relative refer to the people with whom Apollonius exchanged letters but this is harsh after the series of the four subjects on which he corresponded with these people (cf. Jones' translation of the text with Jackson's conjecture: "setting upright whatever had been overturned among such people"). The other possibility is to make the four subjects together the antecedent of οἷς, as Conybeare does (reading Kayser's ἁμαρτάνοιτο): "and in all these departments he corrected the errors into which men had fallen". But here the use of παρά is hard to digest.

Bentley, following Salmasius, conjectured οὗς for οἷς, a reading which already proves to be present in **C**. παρ' οὗς has the immediately preceding νόμων as its antecedent which, together with ἀνατράποιτο, gives a perfectly satisfactory reading: "(...) the laws, setting upright whatever had been overturned in disobedience to these laws".

1.4 (p. 5.6) κυούσῃ δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθεν Αἰγυπτίου δαίμονος, **ὁ Πρωτεὺς** ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων.

ὁ Πρωτεὺς **A E F** : Πρωτεὺς Eus.

The reading of Eusebius is in accordance with the rule that a newly introduced person's name is not preceded by the article while the article is added in subsequent occurrences; see KG 1.598–599. The same goes for proper names which are followed by an attribute; see KG 1.600–601, Anmerk. 1; for Philostratus see Schmid 4.64–65. But with regard to the names of gods KG 1.601 state: "Bei Götternamen erhält die Apposition den Artikel, wenn ihn der Name hat". The addition ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων is an apposition and therefore I have accepted the reading of the mss. Moreover, ὁ Πρωτεύς with the article may well stand for "the well known Proteus", as Albert Rijksbaron has pointed out to me; see KG 1.598 (§461c).

1.6 (p. 6.7) Ἔστι δέ τι περὶ **τὰ Τύανα** ὕδωρ Ὀρκίου Διός, ὥς φασι κτέ.

τὰ Τύανα [Arist.] : Τύανα **A E FC**

The larger part of chapter 6 (p. 6.7–12 Ἔστι – ἐπιώρκησαν) is quoted by ps.-Aristotle, *Mir.* 845b33–846a5 (= A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae*, Milan 1964, 304.1051–1058). Brief as it is, it contains a number of variant readings which deserve serious consideration. And the fact that [Arist.] shares the certainly correct Ὀρκίου with **A**[1sl] against ὅρκιον of **A E F** shows that it is at any rate not dependent on (the lost common ancestor of) **E F**; to my mind [Arist.] should be assigned the position of a primary witness.

The toponym Τύανα occurs six times in *VA*. In two passages it is found without the article: in 1.4 (p. 5.3) we find Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοίνυν πατρὶς μὲν ἦν Τύανα, πόλις Ἑλλὰς ἐν τῷ Καππαδοκῶν ἔθνει, where Τύανα is the predicate, and at 1.33.1 (p. 32.16–17) we read "εἰ ἐγώ σε, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν "ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν Τύανα ἥκοντα ἠξίουν οἰκεῖν οὗ ἐγώ κτέ", where Τύανα stands in apposition to ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμήν. In the three remaining passages (apart from this one), however, Τύανα is accompanied by the article and preceded by the preposition ἐς/εἰς: 1.13.1 (p. 12.9 and p. 12.16), 8.31.1 (p. 295.13) ἐς/εἰς τὰ Τύανα. The fact that in our passage, too, the toponym is preceded by a preposition makes it highly probable that here the article furnished by the text of ps.-Aristotle is authentic. A further argument in favour of the article is that the context availability of Τύανα is high because the toponym had also been mentioned in chapter 1.4 (p. 5.3). In such cases proper names usually have the article; cf. the note on 1.4 (p. 5.6) ὁ Πρωτεύς. One might add that the name of the city of Tyana already figures as an adjective in the title of the work, Εἰς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον.

1.6 (p. 6.13) οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐγχώριοί φασι παῖδα **⟨τούτου⟩ τοῦ Διὸς** τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον γεγονέναι, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ.

⟨τούτου⟩ τοῦ Διὸς scripsi, praeeuntibus Phillimore et Conybeare qui "this Zeus" vertunt

In chapter 6 Philostratus starts telling about the so-called Asbamaean pool, sacred to Zeus Horkios. After the description of the pool the transmitted text states that Apollonius is the son of Zeus. This statement has nothing to do with the preceding ecphrasis. This lack of coherence is remedied by adding ⟨τούτου⟩ before τοῦ Διός, which refers to Zeus Horkios. That there must be a link of some sort between the two passages is also strongly suggested by the presence of the particle δή in οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπιχώριοί φασι. The omission of τούτου is not hard to explain: in the original τουτουτου one or two του's could easily fall out, resulting in the transmitted τοῦ Διός. With the addition of ⟨τούτου⟩ the claim of the locals gains in relevance: they regard Apollonius as the son of their local god who begot Apollonius in a union with a local mortal woman. Both Conybeare and Phillimore translate τοῦ Διός as "a/the son of this Zeus" without taking the trouble to change the Greek text. For the use of οὗτος with the name of a god accompanied by a specific denomination see Paus. 2.24.3 ἐπ' ἄκρᾳ δέ ἐστι τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον· (...) ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κεῖται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξόανον (...). τοῦτον τὸν Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ Λαομέδοντος πατρῷον κτέ; Lucianus *Philops.* 38 ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν καὶ δακτύλιόν τινα ἱερὸν ἔχω Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου εἰκόνα ἐκτυποῦντα τὴν σφραγῖδα καὶ οὗτος ὁ Ἀπόλλων φθέγγεται πρὸς ἐμέ κτέ. See also *VA* 2.9.1 (p. 45.21–22) Διαφέρονται δὲ περὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τούτου καὶ Ἕλληνες Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀλλήλοις, where Philostratus speaks about the Nysian Dionysus.

1.7.2 (p. 7.13–14) ἐνταῦθα ξυνεφιλοσόφουν μὲν αὐτῷ Πλατώνειοί τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου, **διήκουε** δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων (οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε), τοὺς δέ γε Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ **σοφίᾳ** ξυνέλαβε.

διήκουε Eus. : διήκουσε **A E F** : διηκουσαι (sic) **C** ‖ σοφίᾳ Eus. : φιλοσοφίᾳ **A E FC** : φιλίᾳ Jacobs[6] : φιλοστοργίᾳ Scheibe

Although both the imperfect and the aorist are possible here I think that the imperfect, transmitted by Eusebius, is preferable. Apollonius' getting acquainted with Platonism, Stoicism and Epicurianism form the background to his getting involved with Pythagoreanism. The imperfects therefore suggest that he paid some attention to the other philosophical schools but that he only became deeply and thoroughly involved with Pythagoras' doctrines, an activity which is referred to by means of the complexive aorist ξυνέλαβε. It should also be noted that the clause containing διήκουε is followed immediately by a clause with the imperfect ἀπεσπούδαζε.

With regard to σοφίᾳ/φιλοσοφίᾳ we find here the reverse situation of 1.2.1 (p. 2.15), where Eusebius has φιλοσοφίᾳ against σοφίᾳ of **A E FC** Suda. Again, I believe that Eusebius preserves the authentic reading although Reiske finds the mss. reading φιλοσοφίᾳ attractive while Jacobs and Scheibe are dissatisfied with both transmitted readings. To my mind Apollonius' σοφία in dealing with Pythagorean philosophy consists of the fact that he acquires a thorough knowledge and understanding of this philosophy without the help of a competent teacher. Marije Martijn has pointed out to me that the combination of ἄρρητος and σοφία is also found in 6.11.3 and 6.11.5 (p. 190.8 and 190.26), which is another argument in favour of σοφίᾳ in this passage.

1.7.2 (p. 8.2) ἦν δὲ οὗτος Εὔξενος ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου, τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου **δόξας** ἐγίνωσκεν κτέ.

δόξας **A E FC** : γνώμας Eus.

Both δόξα and γνώμη can have the meaning "opinion", "judgement" but the latter word, when used in the plural, usually means "*practical maxims*" (LSJ s.v. III.3). Philostratus means to say that Euxenus had superficial knowledge of the doctrines of Pythagoreanism. But a philosopher, even a poor one like Euxenus, can hardly be expected to learn only the maxims of a philosophical school. On the other hand, γνώμη is a fitting denotation of the utterances by parrots and this may well have influenced the change of δόξας to γνώμας in Eusebius who may have been thinking of such works as Αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν Πυθαγορείων, "The sentences of the Pythagoreans", which is dated to the second–third centuries AD. The change to γνώμας may also partly have been provoked by anticipation of the element -γνω- in the verb ἐγίνωσκεν which follows immediately.

1.7.2 (p. 8.4) τὸ γὰρ "χαῖρε" καὶ τὸ "εὖ πρᾶττε" καὶ τὸ "Ζεὺς ἵλεως" καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ ὄρνιθες εὔχονται οὔτε εἰδότες ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε **διακείμενοι** πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἐρρυθμισμένοι τὴν γλῶτταν.

⟨εὖ⟩ διακείμενοι Hamaker (et Jones) : ⟨φιλίως⟩ διακείμενοι vel διακείμενοί ⟨πως⟩ Richards : ⟨οὕτω⟩ διακείμενοι Jackson

When διάκειμαι is used to express a state of mind it is normally accompanied by an adverb such as εὖ, κακῶς etc. (see LSJ s.v. II.1). Therefore it hardly comes as a surprise that various conjectures have been proposed to fill the supposed gap in our passage. However, I think that there is no need to add an adverb: cf. for instance 4.36.1 (p. 136.5) ἦν δὲ ὁ Φιλόλαος τὴν μὲν γλῶτταν ξυγκείμενος (where Reiske and Hamaker propose adding εὖ or some other qualifying adverb). As to the meaning of a solitary διάκειμαι I would rather accept Phillimore's "the phrase does not indicate any individual affection of mind"[75] than Conybeare's "without any real sympathy for mankind" (which is also the interpretation in LSJ).

1.7.3 (p. 8.13) οὐ μὴν τόν γε Εὔξενον ἐπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξαιτήσας αὐτῷ **προάστ{ε}ιον** παρὰ τοῦ πατρός κτέ.

προάστ{ε}ιον scripsi, iubente Radt 2015d

For the spelling προάστιον, for which our manuscripts and editions often have προάστειον, see Radt 2015d. I have considered the possibility that the spelling προάστειον might already have been current in Philostratus' times so that it might well be authentic in *VA*. However, a search in epigraphy.packhum.org gives no results for προάστειον, while there are 14 occurrences of προάστιον. For FD iii.5.27, col. II.A.18–19, the editor supplies [πρ]ο[αστείου] with a query. A search in papyri.info gives five cases of προάστειον against thirty of προάστιον. This is sufficient proof that in Philostratus' times the word was usually spelled as προάστιον and therefore I have restored this form in all occurrences in *VA*.

1.9.2 (p. 9.18) "εὐφήμει," ἔφη "τοῖς γὰρ βουλομένοις δίδωσι, σὺ δὲ **ἐναντία τῇ νόσῳ** πράττεις."

ἐναντία τῇ νόσῳ] "aut pro νόσῳ legendum ὑγιείᾳ vel θεραπείᾳ aut pro ἐναντία legendum συναιτία aut denique σὺ δὲ πάντα τῇ νόσῳ πράττεις χαριζόμενος" Reiske[2]

Reiske must have argued that the phrase σὺ δὲ ἐναντία τῇ νόσῳ πράττεις means "you do things which are contrary to the disease" ("tu autem omnia facis, quae morbo penitus adversantur", Rinuccino) which is in flat contradiction to what we expect here. However, there appears to be no need to change the text. Either the phrase can be interpreted as

75 Jacobs has "ohne Etwas dabei für den Menschen zu fühlen".

a shortened way of saying "you do things that are contrary to (the treatment of) your illness"[76] or ἐναντία can be taken adverbially (LSJ s.v. ἐναντίος II.1.c), "but you, on the contrary, act in favour of the disease".[77]

1.10.1 (p. 10.4) (...) καὶ τὰ μὲν δέροντας αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ κόπτοντας, χρυσίδας τε ἀνακειμένας δύο καὶ λίθους ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν **Ἰνδικωτάτων** καὶ **θαυμασίων** κτέ.

Ἰνδικωτάτων] ἰνδικῶν Reiske[1] ‖ θαυμασίων] fortasse θαυμασιωτάτων

Ἰνδικοὶ λίθοι are frequently mentioned from Epimenides (sixth–fifth century BC) onwards. Nowhere else, however, do we encounter Ἰνδικώτατοι λίθοι. The only other occurrence of the superlative of the adjective ἰνδικός is found in Psellus (eleventh century AD) *Chronographia* 6.62, τούτων δὴ τῶν ἰνδικωτάτων ἀρωμάτων. As to the meaning of Ἰνδικώτατοι λίθοι one might compare the superlative Ἑλληνικώτατος which means something like "typically" or "authentically Greek". So there seems to be no need to follow Reiske's suggestion to change the superlative ἰνδικωτάτων into the positive ἰνδικῶν.

After the striking word Ἰνδικωτάτων the positive θαυμασίων is something of an anticlimax. Therefore one might wonder whether the transmitted θαυμασίων hides an original θαυμασιωτάτων. Alternatively it is not impossible that positive and superlative have changed places and that Philostratus wrote ἰνδικῶν καὶ θαυμασιωτάτων. But this is too speculative to justify tampering with the text.

1.10.1 (p. 10.7–8) ὁ δὲ "θαυμάσῃ" ἔφη "μᾶλλον, ὅτι μήτε ἱκετεύσας ποτὲ ἐνταῦθα μήτε διατρίψας, ὃν οἱ ἄλλοι χρόνον, μήτε ὑγιάνας πω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, μηδ' ἅπερ αἰτήσων ἦλθεν ἔχων **(χθὲς γὰρ δὴ ἀφιγμένῳ ἔοικεν)**, ὁ δ' οὕτως ἀφθόνως θύει."

χθὲς – ἔοικεν post χρόνον (l. 6) transp. Hamaker

There is a problem with the clause χθὲς γὰρ δὴ ἀφιγμένῳ ἔοικεν, "he appears to have arrived only yesterday". As the text stands, it gives an explanation for the fact that the offerer has not yet been cured. But it is not clear why the god could not have cured the offerer in the first night after his arrival. Therefore Hamaker suggested placing the clause immediately after χρόνον. Though this suggestion is attractive in itself it breaks down on the observation (made by Rutger Allan) that ὁ δ' in ὁ δ' οὕτως ἀφθόνως θύει cannot be accounted for if the clause χθὲς – ἔοικεν is transposed in accordance with Hamaker's

76 Donald Mastronarde has drawn my attention to a parallel for this interpretation of the phrase, namely E. *Hec.* 227 γίγνωσκε δ' ἀλκήν, which he takes to mean "recognize (your lack of) defensive strength". This idiom is discussed in KG 2.569–570, where it is labelled *res ponitur pro defectu rei*. Among the numerous passages quoted there is Hom. *Il.* 1.65 εἴτ' ἄρ' ὅ γ' εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἴθ' ἑκατόμβης, "wegen eines (nicht erfüllten) Gelübdes".

77 For πράττειν with the dative "act in someone's interest", see LSJ s.v. III.6.a. This interpretation is also suggested by Olearius in his note to the passage.

suggestion. Its presence must be due to the intervening clause χθὲς γὰρ δὴ ἀφιγμένῳ ἔοικεν. And thus we will have to accept the transmitted text.

1.10.2 (p. 10.20) γυνὴ μὲν τῷ Κίλικι τούτῳ ἐγεγόνει θυγατέρα ἔχουσα **προτέρων** γάμων κτέ.

προτέρων] ⟨ἐκ⟩ προτέρων Reiske[1] : ⟨ἐκ τῶν⟩ προτέρων Reiske[2]

"A child from a previous marriage" is usually expressed by the phrase υἱός/θυγάτηρ/παῖς ἐκ προτέρου γάμου, for which see e.g. Poll. 3.26, Justinianus *Novellae* p. 164.1 etc., *Basilica* 47.3.46 etc. There are two instances of ἐκ προτέρων γάμων, namely Lib. *Ep.* 676.3 and Theodoret. *Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* 82.468.45 Migne. There are no instances of προτέρου γάμου or προτέρων γάμων without the preposition ἐκ. Even so, I have not ventured to adopt Reiske's conjecture because there are other passages where Philostratus omits ἐκ against the usual practice, for instance with the verb ξύγκειται ("to be composed of"): see e.g. 2.22.4 (p. 57.27–28) ὃ δὴ σκιᾶς τε σύγκειται καὶ φωτός, 2.24 (p. 59.1) τὸ δὲ ἔδος αὐτὸ μαρμαρίτιδος ξύγκειται.

1.11.2 (p. 11.13) καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν βλέψας "φιλοσοφεῖς," ἔφη "ὦ Ἀσκληπιέ, τὴν ἄρρητόν τε καὶ συγγενῆ σαυτῷ φιλοσοφίαν μὴ συγχωρῶν τοῖς φαύλοις δεῦρο ἥκειν, μηδ' ἂν πάντα σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν καὶ **Σαρδιανῶν** ξυμφέρωσιν."

Σαρδιανῶν Bentley: *σαρδόνων* **A E F** : Σαρδῴων Kayser[1C] Kayser[2] : Σάρδων Olearius : Σαρδέων Faber (et Boissonade[1]) : Σηρῶν Reiske[2]

The treasures from India were already mentioned in 1.10.1 (p. 10.3–4), λίθους ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν Ἰνδικωτάτων καὶ θαυμασίων, but it is not clear what the transmitted τὰ ἀπὸ *σαρδόνων* refers to. Huet (quoted by Kayser[1], in his note on p. 178) states: "Sardonia urbs Indiae, unde fortasse Σάρδονοι vel Σαρδόνιοι, Ptol. vel a Sardibus urbe." Kayser declares himself in favour of the first solution but the identification of Sardonia as a town in India is mere speculation. As an alternative Kayser suggests that Sardinia is meant: "nisi cogitaverit de Sardinia Apollonius et ipsa aurifera" which, too, is purely speculative because Sardinia is nowhere mentioned as an island with particular riches. Kayser[2] prints Σαρδῴων which he had already suggested in the corrections to the 1844 edition (at the end of the work, p. 79). Σαρδῴων too refers to the Sardinians. Jones ad loc. suggests that "Philostratus may have thought that stones such as sard (carnelian) and sardonyx came from there".

If the corruption is to be sought in the ending of the transmitted *σαρδόνων* the best candidate for the authentic reading is the city of Sardes which is traditionally associated with riches because of its king Croesus. Sardes was especially renowned for its gold. In the beginning of the passage (ch. 10 *ad init.*) mention is made of χρυσίδας τε ἀνακειμένας δύο καὶ λίθους ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν Ἰνδικωτάτων καὶ θαυμασίων. At the end of ch. 11, the stones are called Indian; we may therefore suppose that the gold from which the two vessels were made came from Sardes. Olearius' Σάρδων is impossible, the correct form being

Σαρδέων, which was conjectured by Faber. But Bentley's Σαρδιανῶν is superior both because it is a more likely source for the corruption into *σαρδόνων* than Σαρδέων and because the name of the inhabitants is paralleled by the immediately preceding Ἰνδῶν.

1.12.2 (p. 12.2) ὁ δὲ ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας **αὐτὸν** "μαίνῃ," ἔφη "ὦ κάθαρμα."

⟨ἐς⟩ αὐτὸν Cobet

Cobet 1859, 118 rightly remarks that the phrase ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας is borrowed from Pl. *Phd.* 117b5–6 ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον. According to Cobet the preposition ἐς should be supplied before αὐτόν in our passage. I guess that Cobet suggested ἐς instead of πρός because ἐς might easily have fallen out because of the similar ending of the participle ὑποβλέψας ("pseudo-haplography"). Cobet's suggestion is accepted by Jones. But ὑποβλέπω can be used with an accusative (LSJ s.v. I.1) and there is a parallel for this use in Philostr. *Her.* 27.8 (p. 35.14 De Lannoy) Αἴας δὲ λέγεται ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας τὸν βασιλέα κτέ where De Lannoy does not record any variant readings. And thus Cobet's conjecture is superfluous.

1.13.3 (p. 13.20) διεφέρετο δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων αὐτὸν πράττοντα **ἐπέσκωπτεν** οὗτος καὶ ἀπῆγε τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαί τε καὶ τὴν σοφίαν καπηλεύειν.

ἐπέσκωπτεν **A E F** : ἔσκωπτεν Suda : ἐπέκοπτεν Reiske^{2} (et Cobet)

In modern editions of *VA* the verb ἐπικόπτω is found five times; this passage, 5.26.1 (p. 163.12), 5.35.5 (p. 171.19), 7.14.11 (p. 234.22), 8.7.26 (p. 271.24). In three of these five cases the mss. have a form of ἐπισκώπτω (this passage; 5.26.1 ἐπέσκωπτε **A E FQ**: ἐπέκοπτε Reiske^{2} [et Cobet]; 7.14.11 ἐπισκώπτει **A E FQ**: ἐπικόπτει Par.1696^{2pc} [ci. Salmasius Bentley Cobet]). At 5.35.5 ἐπικόψας is transmitted in all mss.; the same goes for ἐπικόπτει at 8.7.26. The two verbs are constantly confused in the mss.; see Cobet 1859, 118–119 with further references. Reiske remarks that ἐπικόπτω is "philosopho dignius"; in a similar vein Cobet states: "Quis credat summum philosophum et ἐμπύρου σοφίας εὐξύνετον in tanta re ludere et iocari potuisse?" Kayser prints forms of ἐπικόπτω in all five passages. Even so, it seems a statistical anomaly that the word should have been corrupted in three of its five occurrences in *VA*. What is more, there is a strong counterargument against Reiske and Cobet: at 4.44.3 (p. 144.1–2) we find ταυτὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Τιγιλλῖνον ἀποσκώπτων ἔλεγεν, "This was a sarcastic allusion to Tigellinus himself" (Conybeare). ἀποσκώπτω cannot possibly be a corruption of ἀποκόπτω, which would be quite out of place here.[78] Now if Philostratus can use ἀποσκώπτω to indicate Apollonius' behaviour there is no reason why he could not use ἐπισκώπτω as well. Therefore I have kept ἐπισκώπτω where the mss. have it.

78 Kayser, in his note to the passage in the 1870 edition, unconvincingly conjectured ἀποσκοπῶν, probably in order to get rid of ἀποσκώπτων.

1.14.1 (p. 14.9–10) καὶ ὕμνος αὐτῷ τις ἐς τὴν **Μνημοσύνην** ᾄδετο, ἐν ᾧ πάντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου μαραίνεσθαί φησιν, αὐτόν γε μὴν τὸν χρόνον ἀγήρω τε καὶ ἀθάνατον **παρὰ τῆς Μνημοσύνης** εἶναι.

Μνημοσύνην scripsi praeeunte Jacobs[6] : μνημοσύνην edd. ‖ **10** παρὰ τῆς Μνημοσύνης scripsi praeeunte Jacobs[6] : παρὰ τῆς μνημοσύνης edd. : παρὰ τὴν μνημοσύνην Richards

All editions print μνημοσύνη with a minuscule but translators sometimes write the word with a capital. Thus Phillimore has "Memory" in both places; Jones prints "Memory" for Μνημοσύνην but "memory" for Μνημοσύνης. Jacobs regards the word as the name of the mother of the Muses, printing "Mnemosyne" in both places in his translation. I believe that Jacobs is completely right. A hymn is naturally dedicated to a person, in this case the personification of memory; cf. the *Hymn to Kairos* by Ion of Chios. Further, the shift from μνήμη (l. 7), which indicates the capacity of memory, to Μνημοσύνη is significant. If Μνημοσύνη is interpreted as a proper name it is superfluous to conjecture παρὰ τὴν μνημοσύνην for παρὰ τῆς Μνημοσύνης, as Richards does (followed by Jones), translating the phrase as "by reason of memory". παρά with the genitive accompanying εἶναι can be interpreted as equivalent to παρά with the genitive accompanying a passive (LSJ s.v. A.II.4). — By the same token I think that Scheibe 1847, 431 is correct in writing Δικαιοσύνη with a capital Δ in 1.28.2 (p. 29.20).

1.14.2 (p. 14.16) πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχοντα μὴ εἰπεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀκούσαντα **μὴ ἀκοῦσαι** κτέ.

μὴ ἀκοῦσαι] μὴ ⟨δόξαι⟩ ἀκοῦσαι Van Wulfften Palthe : μὴ ἀποκροῦσαι Madvig

The phrase πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀκούσαντα μὴ ἀκοῦσαι, when taken literally, means "that he did not hear many things which he had heard", which is strange. The conjectures by Van Wulfften Palthe and Madvig give acceptable sense ("he feigned not to hear" and "he did not react" respectively) but to my mind the parallel construction of πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀκούσαντα μὴ ἀκοῦσαι and the immediately preceding πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχοντα μὴ εἰπεῖν is a strong argument in favour of retaining the transmitted text.[79] As to the interpretation of the phrase, I think that Van Wulfften Palthe is right. Apollonius heard many things which provoked his anger but he chose to act as if he had not heard them.[80] When taken this way, the phrase which follows immediately, πολλοῖς δ' ἐπιπλῆξαι προαχθέντα "τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη τε καὶ γλῶττα" πρὸς ἑαυτὸν φάναι, follows naturally, referring to situations in which Apollonius was unable to act as if he had not heard something outrageous but in which he was compelled to restrain himself from uttering

79 Donald Mastronarde has informed me that he does not think that "the addition of δόξαι in the second phrase significantly harms the parallelism with the first phrase (indeed one could see a deliberate lengthening of the second colon in proportion to the first)".

80 Van Wulfften Palthe 1887, 58: "(...) multa, quae iram moverent, cum audirem, audivisse me dissimulavi."

a rebuke. Therefore I reject the translations by Conybeare ("and he was often obliged not to hear things the hearing of which would have enraged him") and Jones ("and [he] could not hear when he heard much to make him angry"). Phillimore's interpreting translation, though departing from the original Greek, hits the mark with regard to the meaning: "[he had] many provocations to listen to, and be as if he had not heard them".

The omission of some verb such as δόξαι may seem harsh but it appears to be in accordance with Philostratus' predilection for pregnant brevity.[81]

1.15.3 (p. 16.7) ἡ γῆ πάντων μήτηρ, δικαία γάρ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἄδικοι ὄντες πεποίησθε αὐτὴν αὐτῶν μόνων μητέρα, καὶ εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε, οὐκ **ἐάσει** ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἑστάναι.

ἐάσει Reiske$^{1/2}$: ἐάσω **A E FC** *Ep.Ap.*

When addressing the corn merchants in Aspendos, who hold back the grain and thus cause a terrible famine, Apollonius writes that by doing so they are wronging Mother Earth. According to the transmitted reading ἐάσω he threatens that he, Apollonius himself, will not allow them to exist on earth. It is wholly unclear, however, what means Apollonius has at his disposal to do so. Reiske's conjecture ἐάσει makes much better sense. Apollonius threatens the corn merchants that Mother Earth herself will chase them from her surface. In this way the contrast between the just Earth (δικαία γάρ) and the unjust merchants (ἄδικοι ὄντες) is borne out effectively: the just Earth will punish the unjust merchants. For the phrase ἡ γῆ ἐάσει itself Reiske refers to 3.20.1 (p. 86.20) οὔτε ἡ γῆ ξυνεχώρει αὐτοῖς ἵστασθαι.

The corruption must have occurred at an early stage of the transmission because it is also found at *Ep.Ap.* 77a.

1.16.1 (p. 16.15) κυπαρίττων τε ὕψη ἀμήχανα περιέστηκε κύκλῳ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ χῶρος **ἀφώνους** τε καὶ ἠρεμούσας, αἷς τὸν Ἀπόλλω φασὶ ῥαίνεσθαι.

ἀφώνους **A**^{1mg} : ἀφθόνους **A E F**

The description of the springs in ll. 15–16 is picked up by the description of the same springs in l. 23. The adjectives ἀφώνους/ἀφθόνους τε καὶ ἠρεμούσας prepare for the more poetic denotation ὡς γαλήνην ἄγουσι καὶ κελαρύζει σφων οὐδεμία. In the latter passage γαλήνην ἄγουσι expands on ἠρεμούσας while κελαρύζει σφων οὐδεμία picks up the first adjective. The close correspondence between the two passages proves that ἀφώνους, which is found in the margin of **A** (added by the first hand) must be the authentic reading.

81 See Schmid 4.106, where with regard to ellipse it is stated that "Philostratus ist damit ungemein freigebig".

1.18 (p. 18.17) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λογισμὸν ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς ἀποδημίας μείζονος, ἐνθυμεῖται τὸ Ἰνδικὸν ἔθνος καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ σοφούς, οἳ λέγονται Βραχμᾶνές τε καὶ **Ὑλόβιοι** εἶναι κτέ.

Ὑλόβιοι Rhoer : Ὑρκάνιοι **A E F** : Γερμᾶνες Olearius : Σαρμᾶνες Kayser^{1App}

Editors and commentators are baffled by the mention of the Hyrcanians. Scheibe 1847, 430–431 defends Ὑρκάνιοι by suggesting that a group of wise men in India derived their name from the Hyrcanians[82] but this is improbable because it is unclear how these people, who live at a great distance from India and who were not particularly renowned for their wisdom, should have come to be associated with wise men and because, as Scheibe admits himself, there is no evidence at all to prove that this might have happened. Kayser^{1}, 179 aptly remarks: "Βρ. τε καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι Ph. ne errore quidem potuit scribere". Rhoer 1792, 358 suggests Ὑλόβιοι, which is very attractive because the Ὑλόβιοι are associated elsewhere with the Brahmans too. LSJ s.v. ὑλόβιος remark that the word is "a literal translation of the Skt. *Vāna-prastha,* '*one who retired to the forest*, being in the third stage of life". Rhoer refers to Str. 15.1.60 (= Megasthenes FGrHist 715F33) Τοὺς δὲ Γαρμᾶνας (Σαρμᾶνας ci. Dihle) τοὺς μὲν ἐντιμοτάτους Ὑλοβίους φησὶν ὀνομάζεσθαι, (...) μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ὑλοβίους δευτερεύειν κατὰ τιμὴν τοὺς ἰατρικοὺς καὶ ὡς (ὥσ⟨περ⟩ Radt) περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον φιλοσόφους κτέ. See also Clem. Alex. *Str.* 1.15.71.5 διττὸν δὲ τούτων τὸ γένος, οἳ μὲν Σαρμᾶναι αὐτῶν, οἳ δὲ Βραχμᾶναι καλούμενοι. καὶ τῶν Σαρμανῶν οἱ Ὑλόβιοι προσαγορευόμενοι οὔτε πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν οὔτε στέγας ἔχουσιν. The way of life which is attributed to the Hylobioi accords well with what is said further on about the Brahmans. Therefore I think that Rhoer's conjecture deserves a place in the text. The very rareness of the name may have led to the conscious or unconscious corruption into the frequently occurring name Ὑρκάνιοι.

1.19.1 (p. 19.14) εἰ μὲν ἄλλο τι οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δ' οὖν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα **ἄγον**, πόλεις τε, ὁπόσαι εἰσίν, οἶδα ἀνελθὼν οὐ πάλαι καὶ κώμας, ἐν αἷς πολλὰ ἀγαθά κτέ.

ἄγον **A E F**^{1pc} : ἄγων **F**^{ac1} : ἄγειν Reiske^{2} : ἥκον Kayser^{2}

Kayser^{2} substituted the transmitted ἄγον by ἥκον, probably because he took offence at the phrase τὸ ἄγον εἰς 'the road to'. ἄγω is regular in phrases such as ἡ ὁδὸς ἄγει, see LSJ s.v. II.1; and the phrase τὸ ἄγον εἰς need not surprise us in an author like Philostratus. Kayser's solution, ἥκον 'I came',[83] is unacceptable for several reasons. In the first place,

82 "Sollte sich aber Ὑρκάνιοι nicht halten lassen? So wie die Chaldäer ursprünglich ein armenisches Bergvolk waren, später aber die Priester der Babylonier so heissen, die sich mit Traumdeutung und Astrologie beschäftigten, so kann auch der Name der Hyrkanier im 2ten und 3ten Jahrh. nach Chr. nicht sowohl das Volk in Masse, als vielmehr die Priester und Weisen der Indier bezeichnen, zu denen eben jene Hyrkanier auf irgend eine Veranlassung und Weise (auf welche, muss freilich unermittelt bleiben) gekommen sind."

83 In itself, the form ἥκον can also be understood as a participle and it appears to have been interpreted as such by Conybeare ("but at least I know all about Babylon") and Mumprecht ("so kenne ich doch den Weg nach Babylon"). Others take it in the same way as I do, namely as "I came": Phil-

the article τό in the collocation τὸ δ' οὖν cannot be accounted for. In the second place, ἦκον makes the participle ἀνελθών redundant. In the third place, the construction of the sentence hinges on the contrast between what Damis does not know (εἰ μὲν ἄλλο τι οὐκ οἶδα) and what he does know (τὸ δ' οὖν ... οἶδα κτέ); the road to Babylon, which is what Apollonius needs in the first place, belongs to the latter category. And thus the transmitted text should be accepted.

1.19.3 (p. 20.8) ὁ Δάμις ἐβούλετο μηδὲν τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ἀγνοεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ παρεφθέγξατο **{ἢ εἶπεν}**, ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ τοῦτο.

ἢ εἶπεν del. Reiske[1/2] (e scholio ortum) : ἢ ⟨...⟩ εἶπεν Bekker : ἢ ⟨ἀμελῶς⟩ εἶπεν Kayser[1App] Kayser[2T] : ἢ ⟨εἰκῇ⟩ εἶπεν Scheibe (et Miller) : ᾗ εἶπεν Jackson

The transmitted text, παρεφθέγξατο ἢ εἶπεν, has given rise to many conjectures. And indeed single εἶπεν is very tame after παρεφθέγξατο. Most conjectures aim at adding a modifier to εἶπεν which results in a tautology. Jackson's solution consists of changing ἤ into ᾗ but this is more ingenious than attractive. I favour Reiske's deletion of the words ἢ εἶπεν which, so Reiske argues, result from a gloss on παρεφθέγξατο. As to the original form of the gloss Reiske[2] remarks: "Dederat olim scholiastes ἢ χυδαίως εἶπεν ad declarandam vim verbi παρεφθέγξατο". Jones accepts the transmitted text, translating it as "even his asides and random remarks" but εἶπεν alone cannot mean "he made random remarks".

1.20.3 (p. 21.16) ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων **ἤδη κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων** ἀκούειν μαντευομένων, ὁπόσα οἱ χρησμοί κτέ.

ἤδη κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων] κύκνων ἤδη καὶ ὀρνίθων Eus. : ἦθος κύκνων καὶ ὀρνίθων vel κύκνων ᾠδῆς καὶ ὀρνίθων vel κύκνων ἔτι καὶ ὀρνίθων Hamaker : ᾠδῆς κύκνων {καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων} Van Wulfften Palthe

Eusebius has κύκνων while the mss. have κοινόν. Hamaker and Van Wulfften Palthe accept this reading. Hamaker 1816, 9 objects to καί in the mss. reading because there is nothing to which it can possibly refer; these difficulties disappear when Eusebius' κύκνων is accepted, according to Hamaker. Hamaker also has difficulties with ἤδη which is found both in the mss. and in Eusebius; he proposes changing it into ἦθος or ᾠδῆς or ἔτι. But then Hamaker's solution creates a new problem: what to do with καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων? Hamaker argues that this word should be taken in the specific sense of "hens", a meaning which is common in Attic (see LSJ s.v. III). However, there is not any indication that this specific Attic sense applies to the word in this passage and therefore I agree with Jacobs when he states (in a note on the passage in his German translation):

limore ("at least I have had recent experience of all the country this side Babylon"), Jones ("but I have been to Babylon"), Mooij ("ik ben wel in Babylonië geweest").

"Wenn Philostratus κύκνων καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων geschrieben hat, so müssen die Worte durch "Schwäne und andere Vögel" erklärt werden." But it would seem far-fetched to interpret τῶν ὀρνίθων as "other birds".[84] To my mind, the transmitted reading is impeccable. It is first stated that Apollonius learnt to understand τῆς τῶν ζῴων φωνῆς. In the first part of the sentence that starts with ἔστι γάρ it is stated that *all* Arabs are able to understand the language of birds too: καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων. The word καί can be explained by assuming that ζῷα and ὄρνιθες are not synonymous; for the distinction between the two see for instance Arist. *GA* 719a2–3 ὅταν δὲ ζῷον ἐκ τοῦ ᾠοῦ γίγνηται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὰ πλεῖστα γίγνεται ὄνπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀρνιθίοις. Further on, it is specified that the Arabs are able to understand the language of ἄλογα when they eat the liver or the heart of snakes. It is unclear whether ἄλογα comprises or excludes ὄρνιθες. In any case, it would have been strange if Apollonius had learnt the language of animals (including birds) by eating the liver or heart of snakes: his strict vegetarianism forbade him to do so.

1.22.2 (p. 23.27) (...) Κάλχας δ' ἐξηγούμενος ταῦτα **ἐννέα** ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀνεῖπε **πολεμήσεσθαι** τὴν Τροίαν;

⟨ἐν⟩ ἐννέα Jackson ‖ πολεμήσεσθαι **A F** : πολεμήσασθαι **E** : καταπεπολεμήσεσθαι **A**^{1sl} : καταπολεμήσεσθαι Kayser$^{1/2}$

Kayser's report of the reading of **A** as πολεμήσασθαι with κατα above the line contains two errors: the original reading of **A** is πολεμήσεσθαι and above the line we find καταπε and not merely κατα. The *simplex* πολεμήσεσθαι is to be preferred to Kayser's καταπολεμήσεσθαι because πολεμήσεσθαι is in agreement with the explanation of the omen given by Calchas in *Il.* 2.328–329 ὣς ἡμεῖς τοσσαῦτ' ἔτεα πτολεμίξομεν αὖθι | τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν αἱρήσομεν εὐρυάγυιαν: Troy is not taken in nine years but in the tenth year, after nine years of war. The future infinitive πολεμήσεσθαι is to be taken as passive. The dative ἐννέα ἐνιαυτοῖς indicating a period of time is not unparalleled in Greek of the imperial period; see Schmid 4.615–616. Therefore Jackson's ⟨ἐν⟩ ἐννέα ἐνιαυτοῖς (which was made on the basis of the reading καταπολεμήσεσθαι) is superfluous.

1.22.2 (p. 24.5) ἐγὼ δὲ ἀτελῆ θηρία καὶ μήπω γεγονότα, ἴσως δὲ μηδ' ἂν γενόμενα, πῶς ἂν ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζοιμι; τὰ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν οὔτ' ἂν γένοιτο, ταχεῖάν τε ἴσχει **φθοράν**, κἂν γένηται.

φθορὰν **E F** : διαφθορὰν **A**

The combination of γένεσις and φθορά is found very frequently, e.g. in the title of Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione*, Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς. On the other hand, I have found only two instances of the combination of γένεσις and διαφθορά before the third century AD: Diocles fr. 27.230 (= Gal. *Nat.Fac.* 2.140.15 Kühn) and Thphr. *CP*

84 To the Greeks, swans are birds too; see e.g. E. *Hel.* 18–19 λόγος τις ὡς Ζεὺς μητέρ' ἔπτατ' εἰς ἐμὴν | Λήδαν κύκνου μορφώματ' ὄρνιθος λαβών.

4.11.9. Thus one might argue that διαφθοράν is *lectio difficilior* here but I have opted for the standard expression as I don't see why Philostratus might have chosen to deviate from normal usage with regard to this vocabulary. Moreover, apart from our passage there is one instance of διαφθορά in Philostratus (*Gymn.* 45 [p. 286.31 Kayser = p. 172.17 Jüthner], where the word means "corruption" [LSJ s.v. I.3]), against four instances of φθορά.

1.23.1 (p. 24.10) ἰχθῦς ἐκπεπτωκότες τῆς θαλάττης ἐν τῇ γῇ ἤσπαιρον θρῆνον ἀνθρώπων ἱέντες καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι τὸ ἐκβεβηκέναι **τοῦ ἤθους** κτέ.

τοῦ ἤθους **A E F** : τῶν ἠθῶν Cobet

Cobet's conjecture is based on the observation that the plural ἤθη for "dwelling places" is usual (Cobet 1859, 119). Kayser rejects it, referring to 4.38.3 (p. 138.10), but there μεταβάλλουσι τοῦ ἤθους means "they change their ways", not "they leave their usual living place". Schmid 4.301 lists well over twenty passages where Philostratus has the plural. However, according to LSJ s.v. ἦθος I the basic meaning of the word is "*an accustomed place*". In 7.28.2 (p. 246.9) we find τῷ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἤθει (similarly at *Im.* 2.17 [p. 367.6 Kayser = p. 97.18 Benndorf-Schenkl]); here the choice for the singular may point to the fact that the eye has a fixed position. By the same token, I think that in our passage the sea as such can be regarded as the fixed element where fish live: the sea is their "accustomed place" and now they are on the land.[85] When Damis reacts to Apollonius' dream he says (1.23.1 [p. 24.16–17]) "μή πῃ" ἔφη "καὶ ἡμεῖς ὥσπερ ἰχθύες ἐκπεσόντες τῶν ἠθῶν ἀπολώμεθα", but here ἐκπεσόντες τῶν ἠθῶν is used *apo koinou* both with the fish and Apollonius and his companions. Further, it is difficult to explain how an authentic τῶν ἠθῶν might have come to be corrupted into τοῦ ἤθους. Therefore I have followed Kayser in retaining the transmitted text.

1.23.1 (p. 24.15) διαταράττειν δὲ βουλόμενος τὸν Δάμιν (καὶ γὰρ τῶν εὐλαβεστέρων αὐτὸν ἐγίνωσκεν) ἀπαγγέλλει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ὄψιν δέος πλασάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πονηροῖς οἷς εἶδεν, ὁ δὲ ἀνεβόησέ τε ὡς αὐτὸς ἰδὼν **ταῦτα** κτέ.

ταῦτα] ταὐτὰ Reiske[1/2] (et Jackson)

With the transmitted reading ταῦτα Damis' distress is caused by the vivid sketch Apollonius gives of his dream: to Damis, it is as if he had seen the whole scene in a dream himself. With the reading ταὐτά Damis' distress is caused by the (supposed) fact that he had had the same dream as Apollonius, that is, it is not the content that frightens him but the fact that the same dream had been dreamt by both Apollonius and himself. The first reading is supported by δέος πλασάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πονηροῖς, which indicates the cause

85 The plural τὰ τῶν ἰχθύων ἤθη is found in *Im.* 2.15 (p. 361.29 Kayser = p. 90.6–7 Benndorf-Schenkl).

of Damis' fear. And thus I have kept the transmitted ταῦτα (although mss. readings have hardly any value in matters of diacritics).

1.23.2 (p. 24.23) Ἐρετριεῖς γὰρ τὴν Κισσίαν ταύτην χώραν οἰκοῦσιν οἱ ἐξ Εὐβοίας ποτὲ Δαρείῳ ἀναχθέντες ἔτη ταῦτα πεντακόσια, καὶ λέγονται **ὥνπερ** ἡ ὄψις ἐφάνη ἰχθύων πάθει περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν χρήσασθαι.

ὥνπερ Reiske²: ὥσπερ **A E F**

The transmitted phrase ὥσπερ ἡ ὄψις ἐφάνη means "as the dream appeared". In itself, the phrase ὄψις ἐφάνη is unobjectionable (see for instance Paus. 10.38.13 τοῦτο ἐφάνη τῇ γυναικὶ ὄψις ὀνείρατος) but Jones' translation "Just as the vision revealed" requires ἔφηνε instead of ἐφάνη. Reiske¹ suggests ἐκφαίνει which is further removed from the transmitted text than ἔφηνε. Another solution is the one suggested by Reiske², namely to change ὥσπερ into ὥνπερ. According to Reiske the construction of the sentence is: "dicuntur Eretrienses, cum caperentur, eadem usi esse fortuna, qua utuntur pisces, quorum species Apollonio per insomnium oblata fuerat." I find this solution convincing: it states that fishes "who appeared in the dream" are a metaphor for the Eretrians. The corruption of ὥνπερ into ὥσπερ is easily made.

1.23.2 (p. 24.24) σαγηνευθῆναι γὰρ δὴ **καὶ ἁλῶναι** πάντας.

καὶ ἁλῶναι del. Cobet

According to Cobet 1859, 119 the passage can be paraphrased as οἱ Ἐρετριεῖς ἁλῶναι λέγονται ὥσπερ ἰχθύες. ἐσαγηνεύθησαν γάρ. He then asks the rhetorical question "Quis ferat in tali re ἐσαγηνεύθησαν γὰρ καὶ ἑάλωσαν?", adding that this would normally have been expressed as σαγηνευθέντας γὰρ δὴ ἁλῶναι πάντας. This seems to me hypercritical; fish can be caught in a net but not necessarily "taken", i.e. landed (fishermen often throw fish they have netted back into the water). In the transmitted text σαγηνευθῆναι refers to ἰχθύων πάθει while ἁλῶναι echoes περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν. The verb σαγηνεύω in combination with the Eretrians is also found in some eight other passages, starting with Pl. *Lg.* 698d3–5.

1.23.2 (p. 25.1) ἴωμεν οὖν ἐξαλλάξαντες τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ **μόνου** ἐρωτῶντες τοῦ φρέατος, πρὸς ᾧ οἰκοῦσι.

μόνου suspectum: τούτου Allan

μόνου is puzzling. What is the point of asking *exclusively* about the fountain of asphalt, olive oil and salt? Should it be a pretext for getting access to the country of the Cissians? But why should they refrain from asking any further questions? There may be textual corruption but I have no suggestions for emendation. Rutger Allan has suggested τούτου which makes good sense but the corruption is hard to explain.

1.24.1 (p. 25.12) οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ, Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες, ἡμέρας **⟨τέτταρας⟩** δρομικῷ ἀνδρί, ἡ χώρα δὲ ἄπολις.

ἡμέρας ⟨τέτταρας⟩ δρομικῷ (i.e. ἡμέρας ⟨δ'⟩ δρομικῷ) Reiske$^{1/2}$: ἡμέρας ⟨ἓξ⟩ δρομικῷ (i.e. ἡμέρας ⟨ϛ'⟩ δρομικῷ) Van der Spek : ἡμέρας ⟨ὁδὸν⟩ δρομικῷ Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}

The transmitted text cannot be correct: οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ, Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες, ἡμέρας δρομικῷ ἀνδρί, "they live in Media, not far from Babylon, days for a fast traveller". ἡμέρας is interpreted as "one day" by the older translators, such as Jacobs ("in Einem Tage") but the genitive of time cannot be used in this sense; moreover, we would expect μιᾶς ἡμέρας in that case. Kayser realized this and added ⟨ὁδὸν⟩ but it is difficult to explain how this word should have got lost and with the addition of ⟨ὁδὸν⟩ too one would expect μιᾶς. ἡμέρας must be an accusative plural but then the absence of a number is intolerable. Reiske suggests reading ἡμέρας ⟨τέτταρας⟩, explaining the omission of the number by assuming that it was written as δ', which then was left out because the immediately following word δρομικῷ begins with a δ. This is very ingenious. Bert van der Spek has pointed out to me that it is equally possible that the number should be ἕξ, written as ϛ (wau). The ϛ might then have fallen out because of its similarity with the final sigma of the immediately preceding word ἡμέρας; this presupposes that the source of the corruption was an early minuscule ms. in which ἡμέρας ended with an "open" sigma, which is not very likely. Given the fact that the whole geography of this passage is a mess[86] it is impossible to decide on internal grounds. Because of οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες and because the palaeographical explanation for ϛ is not very strong I have decided for four rather than six days but we cannot obtain any certainty.

1.24.2 (p. 25.24) τὸ γὰρ πολὺ τῆς Ἐρετρίας **⟨ἐς⟩ τὸν** Καφηρέα ἀνέφυγε καὶ ὅ τι ἀκρότατον τῆς Εὐβοίας.

⟨ἐς⟩ τὸν Westermann : ⟨εἰς⟩ vel ⟨ὡς⟩ vel ⟨πρὸς⟩ τὸν Reiske^{1} : ⟨εἰς⟩ vel ⟨ὡς⟩ τὸν Reiske^{2}

ἀναφεύγω followed by an accusative without a preposition appears to be exceptional; this passage is the only one given for this use by LSJ s.v. 1, "*flee up*". In *VA* 2.14.2 (p. 51.3) we find ἀναφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη and this induced Westermann to add the preposition ἐς here. Elsewhere too, the verb is always accompanied by a preposition, also when the destination is a proper name, as in our passage; see for instance Paus. 9.14.2 ἀναφεύγειν δὲ ἐς Κερησσόν; D.C. 65.17.2 κἀκ τούτου ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέφυγον. Therefore Reiske's (and Westermann's) addition of ἐς in our passage should be accepted. ἐς may easily have fallen out as a kind of semi-haplography after the preceding Ἐρετρίας.

86 Cissia lies in the Susiana, to the South-East of Babylon; Philostratus wrongly situates it to the North of Babylon. See Jones 2001, esp. pp. 194–197.

1.24.2 (p. 26.3) βωμούς τε ἱδρύσαντο Δαρείῳ μὲν δύο, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἕνα, **Δαριδαίῳ** δὲ πλείους.

Δαριδαίῳ] δαρειδαίω **F** : Ἀριδαίῳ dubitanter Valckenaer[2] : "Aridaeum novi, non Daridaeum" Reiske[1] : fortasse Δαρειαίῳ

The name Daridaeus is not found elsewhere. The name Aridaeus, proposed by Reiske and Valckenaer, occurs frequently but it is not clear to whom it should refer in this passage. Ctesias FGrHist 3c.688.F fr. 13 Jacoby mentions Dariaeus the son of Xerxes (γαμεῖ δὲ Ξέρξης Ὀνόφα θυγατέρα Ἀμῆστριν, καὶ γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς Δαρειαῖος) but it is much more probable that Jones in his note on the present passage is right in identifying the king mentioned here as Darius II Ochus, who reigned from 424 to 404. This is in accordance with the remark that the Eretrians continued to write Greek eighty-eight years after the deportation.

I think it is safest to leave the form of the name as it stands in the mss.: it is very well possible that the source consulted by Philostratus had the name in a corrupted form. The form itself may well be a conflation of Δαρειαῖος and Ἀρ(ε)ιδαῖος.

1.24.2 (p. 26.7–8) ἰδεῖν φασι καὶ ναῦς ἐγκεχαραγμένας τοῖς τάφοις, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἔζη **πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων {ἢ θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ ἁλουργὸν πράττων}** κτέ.

πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων del. Olearius ‖ ἢ θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ ἁλουργὸν πράττων delevi

In the transmitted text, the activities of the Eretrians depicted on the tombstones are expressed twice: πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων is roughly the same as θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ ἁλουργὸν πράττων. This induced Olearius to delete the first set of words, πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων. Reiske[2] pleads for keeping the words; Kayser[1] too keeps the words but in the 1870 edition he places them between brackets. Suspicion is raised in the first place by ἤ before θαλάττιον; this would only make sense if the four parts of the enumeration are all separate activities but in fact there are only two activities which are each expressed twice. Thus I agree with Olearius that a gloss has crept into the text. But I disagree with Olearius on the identification of the intruder. I would rather keep πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων and delete ἢ θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ ἁλουργὸν πράττων. My principal argument is the paronomasia of the two participles, both beginning with πορ- and ending in -εύων: this rather smacks of the rhetorician Philostratus than of a copyist writing a gloss. Secondly, the phrase θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ ἁλουργὸν πράττων as it is transmitted is clumsy; Cobet 1859, 119–120 and Jackson propose adding τι: Cobet suggests reading θαλάττιόν τι καὶ instead of θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ, Jackson prefers adding it before πράττων. Thirdly, in Olearius' reading the emphatic ἤ before θαλάττιον is hard to explain. Finally, the words πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων are more specific than θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ ἁλουργόν and the rare verb πορφυρεύων is a better candidate for being glossed than the more familiar ἁλουργόν (πράττων).

1.25.1 (p. 27.10) γυνὴ γὰρ λέγεται **Μήδεια** τῶν ἐκείνῃ ποτὲ ἄρχουσα τὸν ποταμὸν ὑποζεῦξαι τρόπον, ὃν μήπω τις ποταμὸς ἐζεύχθη.
The transmitted text can stand but it should be pointed out that most translators misinterpret Μήδεια as meaning "Median". Phillimore is the only one to give the correct interpretation, namely as the proper name "Medea". A parallel for a woman called Medea, other than the famous princess from Colchis, is furnished by X. *An*. 3.4.11.

1.25.1 (p. 27.12) λίθους γὰρ δὴ καὶ **χάλικα** καὶ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ὁπόσα εἰς **ὕφυδρον** ξύνδεσιν ἀνθρώποις εὕρηται κτέ.

χάλικα Madvig (et Jackson) : χαλκὸν **A E F** Phot. ‖ ὕφυδρον Reiske[1] (et Madvig Jackson) : ἔφυδρον **A E F** Phot.

Both emendations are absolutely convincing and it is remarkable that two obvious errors have persisted so long in the editions. The gravel (χάλικα) serves to fill the holes left by the bigger stones; bronze would be of no use for making roof and walls waterproof. And the correctness of the conjecture ὕφυδρον is proved by the fact that a little further on Philostratus explains that asphalt acquires its solidness through contact with water. Both conjectures were rightly accepted by Jones, who found them in Jackson's copy of the *VA*, not knowing that in both cases Jackson's conjectures had already been anticipated by Madvig and Reiske respectively.

1.25.2 (p. 27.23) τὰ δὲ ποικίλματα τῶν πέπλων ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἥκει σφισὶ λόγων, Ἀνδρομέδαι καὶ Ἀμυμῶναι καὶ **Ὀρφεῖς** πολλαχοῦ.

Ὀρφεῖς Bentley 678h8 (et Huet [apud Kayser[1N]]) : ὀρφέως **A E F** : Ὀρφεὺς Par.1696[1pc] (ci. Bentley 679g1314) : ⟨ἡ⟩ Ὀρφέως Bentley 678h8 : ⟨τὸ⟩ Ὀρφέως Jackson

The conjecture Ὀρφεῖς was made independently by Bentley and Huet. Kayser, followed by all subsequent editors, accepted Ὀρφεύς, which is a correction in Par.1696 (a derivative of **E**). That the transmitted ὀρφέως must be corrupt appears to be beyond doubt; the attempts to save it by adding ⟨ἡ⟩ (Bentley) or ⟨τὸ⟩ (Jackson) are unconvincing. The plural Ὀρφεῖς is a natural companion of the plurals Ἀνδρομέδαι and Ἀμυμῶναι. The corruption may well be due to the immediately following πολλαχοῦ, the ending of which may unconsciously have been associated with a masculine genitive.

1.26 (p. 28.13) Περὶ δὲ τῶν μάγων Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν τὸ ἀποχρῶν εἴρηκεν, συγγενέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ μὲν **μαθών**, τὰ δὲ ἀπελθεῖν διδάξας κτέ.

μαθών Reiske[1/2] : μαθεῖν **A E F**

Reiske[1] remarks: "perinde est μαθεῖν, an μαθὼν legatur"; Reiske[2] states: "dubium, μαθεῖν an μαθὼν praestet. Ego equidem hoc malim." If both μαθεῖν and μαθών were transmitted

the choice would obviously be for μαθών because μαθών is the natural counterpart of the following διδάξας. The change of an original μαθών into μαθεῖν is easily explained as the result of *Echoschreibung* of ἀπελθεῖν; this corruption was all the more likely to occur because of the μέν – δέ construction of the sentence. But μαθεῖν is transmitted in all the mss. Are we, then, entitled to overrule the tradition here? I think so. Apart from linking τὰ μὲν μαθών to τὰ δὲ διδάξας Reiske's conjecture restores the link between συγγενέσθαι and ἀπελθεῖν. In contrastive μέν – δέ constructions there is typically a formal relationship between the items which are contrasted; in *VA* see e.g. 2.7.3 (p. 44.25–26) καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀρχοῦνται πίπτοντες, οἱ δὲ ᾄδουσιν ὑπονυστάζοντες; 2.19.1 (p. 54.9–10) Κομιζόμενοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πολλοῖς μὲν ποταμίοις ἵπποις ἐντυχεῖν φασι, πολλοῖς δὲ κροκοδείλοις. In our passage μαθεῖν is formally similar to ἀπελθεῖν while it contrasts with διδάξας with regard to the content. Further, in the transmitted text ἀπελθεῖν only belongs to διδάξας and not to μαθεῖν, which is in flat contradiction with the state of affairs: Apollonius leaves the magi after having both learnt and taught. Finally, the postponed position of ἀπελθεῖν, between the two accompanying participles, is in accordance with Philostratus' highly wrought style; in regular prose the sentence would have been construed as περὶ δὲ τῶν μάγων Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν τὸ ἀποχρῶν εἴρηκε, συγγενέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τὰ μὲν μαθών, τὰ δὲ διδάξας or (...) συγγενέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ μὲν μαθών, τὰ δὲ διδάξας ἀπελθεῖν. As I have already said, the corruption is very easily explained and was almost bound to occur. — For the position of ἀπελθεῖν in the δέ-clause while having scope over both the μέν- and the δέ-clause compare e.g. 1.28.2 (p. 29.23–24) καὶ ὁ μὲν τρωθῆναι, ὁ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου, where ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου has scope over both clauses.

1.27 (p. 28.24) πρεσβεύοντι μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντος οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη τούτου, παρὰ βαρβάρων δὲ ἥκοντι ἢ ἀφιστοροῦντι τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰκόνα προθεραπεύσειεν, ἄτιμον **διειλῆφθαι**.

διειλῆφθαι **A E F**: ἀπειλῆφθαι Kayser[2]: ⟨δεῖ⟩ ὑπειλῆφθαι (sic) Reiske[2]

Kayser[2] does not bother to mention his conjecture ἀπειλῆφθαι in the *adnotatio critica*, nor do we know why he introduced this reading and how he interpreted it. Jones is right in restoring the mss. reading but the phrase ἄτιμον διειλῆφθαι is interpreted in many different ways. Olearius: "infamia notabatur, si deprehensus esset"; Jacobs: "so wird er für ehrlos erklärt"; Jones (2005 edition): "was thought dishonoured"; Jones (2012 edition): "was led away in disgrace"; Mooij: "wordt zonder vorm van proces gearresteerd". To my mind, it is better to take the verb διαλαμβάνω in the sense of "*treat, handle*" (LSJ II.3); the phrase ἄτιμον διειλῆφθαι, then, means "he is treated as deprived of rights", that is, "he is denied access to the palace" with the connotation of being chased away ignominiously.

1.28.1 (p. 29.8) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθεν, ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ὅ τι **μαθὼν** καταφρονήσειε τοῦ βασιλέως κτέ.

μαθὼν] παθὼν **A**^{1sl} (ci. Cobet)

Both τί μαθών and τί παθών can be used in the sense of "what made you do X?" The mss. are often divided between the two readings; see Dover 1968 ad Ar. *Nu.* 402. Cobet 1859, 120 argues at length that only τί παθών is correct and he accordingly corrects the mss. in all passages: here, *VA* 5.25.1 (p. 162.25, 26), 6.19.1 (p. 202.5) and *VS* 2.8.33 (p. 92.21 Stefec). According to Cobet "[παθὼν] passim Graeculi in μαθὼν refingere solent". In the other passages in Philostratus where τί μαθ- stands in our editions the mss. unanimously transmit τί μαθ- and therefore I assume that the supralinear reading in **A** is nothing more than a conjecture, made by a predecessor of Cobet. In Philostratus there are five cases of τί παθ-, among which *VA* 4.15.1 (p. 118.7) and 4.16.6 (p. 120.15).

1.28.1 (p. 29.16) ποστὸν δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ἔτος **ἀνακτηθείσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ**;

ἀνακτηθείσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ Jackson : τῇ ἀνακτηθείσῃ ἀρχῇ **A E F**

The phrase τῇ ἀνακτηθείσῃ ἀρχῇ is of the type which in Latin syntax is called the dominant participle, meaning "How many years is it since the recovery of his power?" (Jones). In such phrases, for which see KG 2.78 Anmerk. 1, the participle is placed in predicative position, e.g. Th. 3.29.2 ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἑαλωκυίᾳ ἑπτὰ ὅτε ἐς τὸ Ἔμβατον κατέπλευσαν, "It was seven days after Mytilene had been taken when they sailed to Embaton". Therefore I believe that Jackson is right in changing the order of participle and article. The corruption is easy to explain because of the rarity of this construction in Greek.[87]

1.28.2 (p. 29.25) σὺ δ' ἤδη τοῦτον ἴσως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ θρόνῳ καθῆσθαι εἰδότα ξυνειληφέναι **ὁμοῦ πάσας** ἀρετὰς βούλει κτέ.

ὁμοῦ πάσας Kayser$^{1/2}$ hunc ordinem verborum falso Boissonade^{2} tribuens : πάσας ὁμοῦ re vera Boissonade^{2} : ὁμοῦ τὰς **A E F**

Boissonade's substituting τὰς by πάσας can be regarded as certain, because in Philostratus there are nineteen cases where ὁμοῦ accompanies a form of πᾶς, e.g. *VA* 1.10.1 (p. 10.10). In other cases ὁμοῦ accompanies a definite number, such as *VA* 2.12.1 (p. 48.22–23) ἐπεσκευασμένοι πύργους οἵους κατὰ δέκα καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ὁμοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν δέξασθαι. It remains a riddle, however, why Boissonade wanted to read πάσας ὁμοῦ and not ὁμοῦ

87 On the other hand, Schmid 4.67 illustrates that in the *Imagines* Philostratus often places an attributively used adjective in predicative position. Remarkably enough he cites only one instance from *VA* (1.7.3 [p. 8.6] ἐν ἀπαλῷ μὲν τῷ πτερῷ) and one from the *Heroicus* (8.3 [p. 9.2 De Lannoy] ἐς κοῖλον τὸν ἵππον).

πάσας, as Kayser prints, wrongly attributing this reading to Boissonade; in itself, the word order πάσας ὁμοῦ is possible (cf. 4.1.1 [p. 110.3] οἱ δὲ πάντων ὁμοῦ θαυμασταὶ ὄντες) but the transmitted τὰς must be regarded as a corruption of πάσας which stands after ὁμοῦ.

1.30 (p. 30.24) "οὔκ, ὦ χρηστέ," **εἶπεν** "ἀλλ' **ἐξηγούμενός** σοι τοὺς νόμους τῶν ὕμνων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ ὅπῃ τὰ Αἰολέων ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατόν τε καὶ τὸ ἴδιον Παμφύλων παρήλλαξε, πρὸς ἄλλῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγενόμεθα κτέ."

εἶπεν] εἶπον Kayser$^{1/2}$: εἶπον ⟨ἔφη⟩ Reiske^{1} ‖ ἐξηγούμενός **A** : ἐξηγουμένου **F** : ἐξηγοῦμαι νῦν **E**^{pc3} (incertum quid habuerit **E**^{ac}) : ἐξηγούμην Laur.CS.155 (Kayser$^{1/2}$)

Kayser's changing of the transmitted εἶπεν into εἶπον is unjustified because in *VA* change of speaker is almost always indicated by phrases such as ἦ δ' ὅς, ἔφη or εἶπε(ν). Obviously, Kayser wanted Apollonius to pick up Damis' complaint "ἠρόμην," ἔφη "τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπας", echoing Damis' εἶπας by means of εἶπον.

ἐξηγούμενος created problems for copyists who did not understand that we are dealing here with a typically Philostratean switch of singular participle to plural predicate. **F** turns the nominative into a genitive, probably to be understood as a *genetivus absolutus*; a later corrector of **E** introduced ἐξηγοῦμαι νῦν, and Laur.CS.155 more plausibly thought of ἐξηγούμην. But the text of **A** is sound: we only need to put a comma after παρήλλαξε instead of the semicolon found in the editions in order to get a perfectly acceptable text. "No, my friend, but while I was explaining to you (...), after that we went on to another subject (...)." Compare for instance 1.5 (p. 5.17–19) καὶ δῆτα ἀφικομένη (sc. Apollonius' mother) αἱ μὲν δμωαὶ προσεῖχον τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἐσκεδασμέναι κατὰ τὸν λειμῶνα, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς ὕπνον ἀπήχθη κλιθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πόᾳ.

1.30 (p. 31.1) καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὕτη **Δαμοφίλη** κτέ.

Δαμοφίλη Jackson : Δαμοφύλη **A E F**

The names Δαμοφύλη and Δαμόφυλος are not found in the TLG; Δαμοφίλη is found once and Δαμόφιλος 47 times. The online *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* gives 108 hits for δαμοφιλ- and none for δαμοφυλ-. Therefore Jackson must be right in restoring Δαμοφίλη here, even if (as Jones ad loc. remarks) the lady "is probably Philostratus's invention".

1.33.1 (p. 32.17) "εἰ ἐγώ σε, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν "ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν Τύανα ἥκοντα ἠξίουν οἰκεῖν οὗ ἐγώ, **ᾤκησας ἄν {ἆρα}**;"

ᾤκησας ἄν {ἆρα} Jackson : ᾤκησας ἂν ἆρα (sic) **A E** : ᾤκησας ἄρα (sic) **F** : ᾤκησας ἂν ἄρα Jones : οἰκῆσαι ἂν ἤρας Kayser^{2} : ἆρ' ἂν ᾤκησας Kayser^{1App} : ᾤκησας ἄρα; οὐ Salmasius (et Gruter) : ᾤκησας ἂν ἀρ⟨εσκόμενος⟩ Miller

Scholars are baffled by αρα and understandably so. If we follow **F** and read ἄρα with the acute accent (as Jones does, keeping ἄν which is absent in **F**), Apollonius says something like: "If I invited you to live in my house, you would, or so I guess, accept my invitation." This is not absolutely impossible but it is certainly unnatural and not in accordance with Apollonius' regular habit of asking a question. And the king's reaction is obviously an answer to a question. So if αρα is kept, ἆρα (the reading of **A** and **E**) it has to be. Kayser's ἆρ' ἂν ᾤκησας gives the particle its usual position but it is very hard to explain why this should have been corrupted into ᾤκησας ἂν ἆρα. Denniston 1954, 48–50 gives numerous instances of postponed ἆρα (among prose writers Plato is prominent) although he gives no instances of ἆρα at the end of a sentence and indeed ἆρα at the end of the sentence seems to be unacceptable even in Philostratus. Therefore I think that Jackson is right in deleting ἆρα. Direct questions are not necessarily introduced by interrogative particles (see KG 2.523, Smyth 1920, §2641) and in our passage the interrogative particle can be dispensed with because of the preceding conditional sentence which in itself obviously prepares a question. The absence of ἄν in **F** might seem to point at a double reading in (a predecessor of) the archetype of our mss. A scribe may have added αρα in such a manner that some took it as an alternative for ἄν while others thought that it should be added besides ἄν.

1.34.1 (p. 33.19) δεῖ γάρ τι **παραπεσεῖν**, ὃ τὸν σὸν ἐλέγξει λόγον.

παραπεσεῖν **A E F**^{1pc} : περιπεσεῖν **F**^{acuv1}

περί and παρά are constantly confused in the mss. due the fact that the compendia for these prepositions are very similar. In this case, however, I believe that **A E F**^{1pc} are right in reading παραπεσεῖν. For absolute περιπεσεῖν (that is, without an accompanying dative) meaning "happen" LSJ s.v. II.4 only mention this passage. In *VA* there are three passages where παραπεσεῖν is used absolutely: 4.37.1 (p. 137.8) παραπέπτωκε γὰρ βάσανος τῶν νεῶν, 5.7.1 (p. 149.25) Διαλέξεις ... περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ παραπεσόντων, 7.28.2 (p. 246.2) διαλέγομαι ... ὑπὲρ τῶν παραπιπτόντων. In all three cases the mss. are unanimous in transmitting παρα-.

1.34.1 (p. 33.23) σωφροσύνη γὰρ τὸ ὀρεγόμενόν τε καὶ **ὀργῶντα** μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἀφροδισίων, ἀλλ' ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κρείττω φαίνεσθαι τῆς λύττης ταύτης.

ὀργῶντα Bentley : ὁρμῶντα **A E F**

Bentley's conjecture is exactly the word that suits the context in every respect. In the first place, ὀργάω means "*to be in heat, desire sexual intercourse*" (LSJ s.v. II.1); in the second place the frenzy of sexual desire expressed by ὀργῶντα is picked up by λύττης at the end of the sentence; in the third place the couple ὀρεγόμενον and ὀργῶντα constitutes a nice paronomasia. The corruption of ὀργῶντα to ὁρμῶντα may be partly due to the fact that the two verbs are part of the technical vocabulary of Stoic philosophy, especially in Epictetus. In our passage, ὀρεγόμενον and ὁρμῶντα would be more or less synonymous, whereas Bentley's conjecture results in an appropriate climax.

1.37.1 (p. 36.13) Τοιαῦτα **διαλαλούντων** πρὸς ἀλλήλους κραυγὴ τῶν βασιλείων ἐξεφοίτησεν εὐνούχων καὶ γυναικῶν ἅμα.

διαλαλούντων **E F** : δὴ λαλούντων **A**

Kayser's decision to replace the reading διαλαλούντων of the older editions by **A**'s reading δὴ λαλούντων is mistaken. There are numerous passages where a discussion is capped by a phrase starting with τοιαῦτα. See for instance 2.34 (p. 66.14) Τοιαῦτα διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν, 3.23.1 (p. 88.17) Τοιαῦτα διαλεγομένων προσελθὼν τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ ἄγγελος "ὁ βασιλεὺς" ἔφη, and 6.3.1 (p. 180.19) Τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενος. Such phrases are always asyndetic. On the other hand, there are no instances of Τοιαῦτα δή in *VA*.

1.37.2 (p. 37.1–4) εἰ γὰρ ζήσεται νοσῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων **ἁπτόμενος καὶ** μήτε σῖτα μήτε ποτὰ ἥσει αὐτὸν μήτε θεάματα, ἃ σέ τε καὶ τούς σοι συνόντας εὐφρανεῖ, πηδήσεταί τε ἡ καρδία θαμὰ ἐκθρώσκοντος τοῦ ὕπνου, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντάς φασι γίγνεσθαι, **{καὶ} τίς** μὲν οὕτω φθόη τήξει αὐτόν, τίς δὲ οὕτω **λοιμὸς** ἐπιθρύψει τὰ σπλάγχνα;

ἁπτόμενος καὶ] ἁπτόμενος ναὶ Westermann ‖ {καὶ} τίς Kayser[2] ‖ λοιμὸς **E F** : λιμὸς **A**

Both Westermann and Kayser saw that one of the two καί's in this long-winded sentence should disappear: either the one after εἰ γὰρ ζήσεται νοσῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἁπτόμενος or the one before τίς μὲν οὕτω φθόη τήξει αὐτόν. It is impossible to keep both. If the first καί is kept the conditional protasis continues until φασι γίγνεσθαι so that the apodosis starts with τίς μὲν οὕτω φθόη τήξει αὐτόν, in which case the second καί should be removed. If the second καί is kept the apodosis starts with μήτε σῖτα μήτε ποτὰ ἥσει αὐτὸν which leads to the expulsion of the first καί. But although Schmid 4.91 mentions one instance of μή for οὐ in Philostratus (2.11.1 [p. 47.7] καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ ἡ μάστιξ σοφοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἱππέως) it would seem too harsh to have an apodosis start with double μήτε following a protasis starting with εἰ. Therefore I have followed Kayser in deleting the second καί.

The words λοιμός and λιμός are constantly confused in our manuscripts[88] but in this passage λοιμός definitely has a stronger case than λιμός. With the reading λοιμός the τίς μέν and the τίς δέ phrases are rhetorical doublets expressing the same thought, in which φθόη and λοιμός are synonyms the content of which comprises all the troubles enumerated in the preceding protasis. Moreover, φθόη and λοιμός echo νοσῶν at the beginning of the protasis. If λιμός is read (as Kayser does) the hunger should refer to the eunuch's unsatisfied sexual hunger which in fact is only the cause of his plight. I have not found parallels for the juxtaposition of φθόη and λοιμός but the combination of φθόη's synonym φθορά and λοιμός occurs a number of times; see for instance Th. 2.47.3 οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτός γε λοιμὸς οὐδὲ φθορὰ οὕτως ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμοῦ ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι; Tim. 3b.566.F fr. 146b Jacoby φθορὰ δὲ καὶ λοιμὸς μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος ἔσχε τὴν Λοκρίδα διὰ τὴν εἰς Κασάνδραν ἀθέμιτον πρᾶξιν τοῦ Αἴαντος; Plu. 314d1–2 Λοιμοῦ κατασχόντος

88 For a famous instance of confusion of the two words in Antiquity see Th. 2.54.3.

Φαλερίους καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένης χρησμὸς ἐδόθη κτέ; Herennius Philo fr. 2.219 Müller Λοιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου καὶ φθορᾶς.

1.39.1[89] **(p. 38.8)** δείξαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τείχη καὶ θεῶν φάσκοντος ταῦτα εἶναι οἴκησιν "θεῶν μὲν οὐκ **εἰσὶν** ὅλως οἴκησις," εἶπεν "εἰ δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ οἶδα."

εἰσὶν **E F** : ἔστιν **A**

At first sight the choice for the plural might seem strange because the subject (τὰ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τείχη) is neuter. With the singular, however, Apollonius' remark might wrongly be taken as "There is no dwelling of the gods", with οἴκησις as the subject and ἔστιν (*sic*) as the substantive verb. By means of the plural it is unequivocally clear that the city walls are the subject and that οἴκησις is the predicate. Further, the corruption of an authentic εἰσὶν to ἔστιν is much easier to explain than the other way round because of the singular οἴκησις in the phrase.

1.39.2 (p. 38.11) καὶ μὴν καὶ δίκην τινὰ δικάσαντος αὐτοῦ κώμαις καὶ μεγαλοφρονουμένου πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς **δυοῖν ἡμέραιν** ἠκροαμένος εἴη τῆς δίκης "βραδέως γ'" ἔφη "τὸ δίκαιον εὗρες."

δυοῖν ἡμέραιν **F** : δυοῖν ἡμερῶν **A E**

Although the stemmatic support for the dual is weak I have opted for **F**'s reading δυοῖν ἡμέραιν. Of the thirteen passages in Philostratus where δυοῖν is accompanied by a noun or pronoun, the noun/pronoun is also in the dual, e.g. 7.36.1 (p. 251.11) δυοῖν ἡμέραιν, *VS* 2.2.20.3 (p. 79.23 Stefec) δυοῖν ἐτοῖν, *Her*. 8.11 (p. 10.11 De Lannoy) ὑπὸ δυοῖν ἀμφορέοιν. The only exception is *VA* 6.31.2 (p. 214.6) δυοῖν κυνῶν but then it should be noted that the dual *κυνοῖν is not attested anywhere, according to the TLG. **F**'s ἡμέραιν is possibly the result of conjectural emendation.

1.39.2 (p. 38.16) "τί ἂν οὖν" ἔφη "πράττων καλῶς αὐτοῖς χρησαίμην;" "χρώμενος," **ἔφη "βασιλεὺς γὰρ εἶ."**

ἔφη βασιλεὺς γὰρ εἶ **A E F** : ἔφη ⟨ὡς⟩ βασιλεύς. ⟨καὶ⟩ γὰρ εἶ Reiske[2] : ἔφη ⟨βασιλικῶς⟩· βασιλεὺς γὰρ εἶ Schenkl[2]

Reiske and Schenkl assumed that something had fallen out in Apollonius' answer but the transmitted text fits in well with the enigmatic answers Apollonius regularly gives: "just use it and all will be well: you are the king and whatever the king does is good."

89 In my edition, I omitted to add the section number 2 in the margin of line 9.

1.41.2 (p. 39.17) "τριῶν ἡμερῶν" ἔφη ὁ βασιλεὺς "ἄνυδρος ἡ χώρα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολλὴ ἀφθονία ποταμῶν τε καὶ πηγῶν· **βαδίζειν δὲ** τὴν ἐπὶ Καυκάσου, κτέ."

βαδίζειν δὲ **A E F** : βαδίζειν δὲ ⟨δεῖ⟩ Kayser^{2T} : βαδίσαι δὲ ⟨δεῖ⟩ Kayser^{2Adn} : βαδίζοντι Reiske^{1} : βαδιστέα δὲ Radermacher

Reiske, Kayser and Radermacher had problems with the infinitive βαδίζειν. Reiske^{1} tried to solve this by changing βαδίζειν δὲ into βαδίζοντι. Reiske^{2} states: "scil. χρὴ, vel μέμνησο", but it does not seem as if he actually wishes to insert either of these words in the text. Kayser added δεῖ, and Radermacher turned the infinitive into an *adiectivum verbale*. I agree with Kayser and Radermacher that the phrase must express an instruction by the king but I accept the transmitted text, taking it is an imperatival infinitive.[90] The procedural character of the king's instruction is also illustrated by the absence of the predicate in the three clauses in which the clause with βαδίζειν is embedded. In 6.11.5 (p. 191.5–6) I take ἀνῃρῆσθαι, ἐκλελῆσθαι and μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν as *infinitivi pro imperativo* (see note ad loc.); Schmid 2.57 and 4.618 mentions a number of instances of the *infinitivus pro imperativo* in Aelius Aristides.

An argument against Kayser's addition of δεῖ is its position, as Rutger Allan has pointed out to me. Normally δεῖ precedes the infinitive; see, e.g., 1.34.2 (p. 34.2–3) δεῖ δὲ καὶ φυλάττεσθαι διαβολάς, 1.35.2 (p. 34.21–22) δεῖ δὲ πεφράχθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, 2.34 (p. 66.19) δεῖ γὰρ προσίεσθαι αὐτά. The infinitive precedes δεῖ when it is preceded by a subordinate clause or an Argument or Satellite, or when it is in so-called Focus position, as in 3.35.2 (p. 98.23–25) πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς Κολπίτας βαρβάρους, οἳ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ εἴσπλου κεῖνται, παρατάττεσθαι δεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ὅτε λῃΐζοιντο αὐτὴν ἐπιπλέοντες, 5.35.6 (p. 171.27–172.1) εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὃς ἀπέφηνεν αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ᾧ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύσειν τε καὶ πράξειν ὤμοσε, μέλλοι χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀπολογεῖσθαι δήπου τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖ πρότερον, ὡς ξὺν ὁσίᾳ ἐπιορκοῦντα, 7.19 (p. 238.18–19) ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν ἀπολογεῖσθαί με δεῖ, φράζε. None of these circumstances applies in our passage.[91]

1.41.2 (p. 39.18) τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα καὶ **φιλία** ἡ χώρα.

φιλία Jackson: φίλη **A E F**

This is another proof of Jackson's uncanny feeling for Greek idiom. "A friendly region" is expressed by χώρα φιλία or χωρίον φίλιον, not by *χώρα φίλη or *χωρίον φίλον. See for instance Th. 3.58.4, 6.34.4, 7.77.6; X. *Hell*. 3.1.10, *An*. 1.3.14, 3.2.9, 4.1.8; Aen.Tact. 21.1; D.S. 3.65.4; D.C. 46.54.3. Apart from our passage I have not found instances of χώρα φίλη. And therefore I have accepted Jackson's brilliant conjecture.

90 For the *infinitivus pro imperativo* indicating a procedure which is to be followed see Allan 2010.

91 The phrase βαδίσαι δὲ χρή is found in 7.8.2 (p. 226.3).

BOOK TWO

2.2.1 (p. 40.13) περιβάλλει δὲ **Ταύρῳ ἑτέρῳ καὶ** τὴν ὄμορον τῇ Ἰνδικῇ Σκυθίαν πᾶσαν κατὰ Μαιῶτίν τε καὶ ἀριστερὸν Πόντον, σταδίων μάλιστα δισμυρίων μῆκος.

Ταύρῳ ἑτέρῳ καὶ] Ταῦρος ἑτέρῳ κέρατι re vera Jacobs[2] (Ταύρῳ] κέρατι Jacobs secundum Kayser, falso)

The transmitted text assumes the existence of two Tauruses; this is in accordance with Ταύρου τοῦ δι' Ἀρμενίας τε καὶ Κιλίκων ἐπὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Μυκάλην στείχοντος in ll. 8–9, where the first Taurus is defined by means of the attributive τοῦ κτέ. And so Ταύρῳ ἑτέρῳ balances the first Taurus. The Caucasus is the subject of περιβάλλει δὲ Ταύρῳ ἑτέρῳ καὶ τὴν ὄμορον τῇ Ἰνδικῇ Σκυθίαν πᾶσαν κατὰ Μαιῶτίν τε καὶ ἀριστερὸν Πόντον. This means that the Caucasus is the origin of two Tauruses, one stretching to Mycale, the other to Scythia. A third stretch of the Caucasus runs on up to the Red Sea (2.2.2 [p. 41.6–7] ὁ δὲ Καύκασος ὁρίζει μὲν τὴν Ἰνδικήν τε καὶ Μηδικήν, καθήκει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἑτέρῳ ἀγκῶνι).

Jacobs[2] conjectured Ταῦρος ἑτέρῳ κέρατι for Ταύρῳ ἑτέρῳ καί. Kayser[1] (in the additional notes, p. 180) wrongly reports that Jacobs proposed reading περιβάλλει δὲ κέρατι ἑτέρῳ καὶ, leaving out Ταύρῳ altogether. Jackson, following Kayser's wrong report of Jacobs' conjecture, approves of περιβάλλει δὲ κέρατι ἑτέρῳ, about which he wittily remarks that "Ph. would have accepted Jacobs' κέρατι for Ταύρῳ". As a result of this conjecture the north-western part of the Caucasus is no longer called Taurus. But a little bit further on (ll. 15–18) Philostratus himself states that the Taurus extends beyond Armenia. And so I think that the transmitted text should be kept. For a defence of the transmitted text see also Olearius ad loc.

2.2.2 (p. 40.21) καὶ ἁλῶναί **ποτε** ἐν τῇ Παμφυλίᾳ πάρδαλιν στρεπτῷ ἅμα, ὃν περὶ τῇ δέρῃ ἔφερε.

ποτε **A E F** : ποτέ φασιν Phot.

The addition of φασιν is an attempt to smooth out the construction. For the transition to the accusative and infinitive construction without a verb of saying Hägg 1975, 105 n. 103 aptly compares 3.15.4 (p. 83.2–5) τοῦτο ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα ποιοῦνται καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος παρὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τούτους ἀνασπᾷη αὐτό, οὐ μεθίεται ἡ γῆ τοῦ ἐρίου. τὴν δὲ ἰσχὺν τοῦ δακτυλίου καὶ τῆς ῥάβδου, ἃ φορεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄμφω, δύνασθαι μὲν πάντα, δύω δὲ ἀρρήτω τετιμῆσθαι.

2.2.2 (p. 40.24) βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ἀρμενίας τότε ἦν Ἀρσάκης, καὶ αὐτός, οἶμαι, **ἑλὼν** τὴν πάρδαλιν ἀνῆκε τῷ Διονύσῳ διὰ μέγεθος τοῦ θηρίου.

ἑλὼν Hamaker (et Schenkl[2] Jackson) : ἰδὼν **A E F** Phot. : Ἰνδῶν ὃς Reiske[2] (sic) : λαβὼν Lucarini

The transmitted ἰδών can hardly be correct because Arsaces must somehow have got hold of the leopard in order to fasten the collar around its neck. Besides, αὐτός is redundant with ἰδών whereas it adds something substantial in combination with a verb which means "capturing": "having caught it himself". Hamaker's ἑλών is superior to Lucarini's λαβών because it is closer to ἰδών both in script and in sound and because of the parallel adduced by Hamaker, *Im.* 1.6 (p. 303.28–30 Kayser = p. 15.3–5 Benndorf-Schenkl) τοξεύει δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ πειρῶνται αὐτὸν ἑλεῖν ζῶντα ἱερεῖον τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἥδιστον, where ἑλεῖν is also used for capturing an animal alive. Moreover, ἑλεῖν is the usual active counterpart of ἁλῶναι, which occurs at the beginning of the sentence. — As to the meaning of ἀνῆκεν translators are divided between "he dedicated" (e.g. Phillimore, Mumprecht, Jones, Mooij) and "he set free" (e.g. Olearius, Jacobs, Westermann, Conybeare). The context favours the latter interpretation: it explains how the leopard came to be caught a second time, wearing the collar about its neck.

2.3 (p. 41.18) τὸν δὲ ὄρνιν τὸν ἀετὸν οἱ τῷ Καυκάσῳ προσοικοῦντες ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦνται καὶ καλιάς γε, ὁπόσας ἐν τοῖς πάγοις οἱ ἀετοὶ ποιοῦνται, καταπιμπρᾶσιν ἱέντες βέλη **πυρφόρα** κτέ.

πυρφόρα **F** : πυροφόρα **A E**

It is obvious that Philostratus is speaking about fire-bearing arrows. But what is the correct form of the word? A TLG search for πυρφόρος gives well over 350 hits; the harvest for πυροφόρος is 135, but the large majority concerns cases of πῡροφόρος, "*wheat-bearing*" (LSJ s.v. πῡροφόρος I), while there are only a few attestations for πῠροφόρος, "*inflammatory missiles*" (LSJ s.v. πῠροφόρος I). For the latter word I have found the following passages: Philo Mechanicus, *Parasceuastica et poliorcetica* pp. 91.41, 94.8, 95.20, 100.20, 104.20 Thevenot; Athanasius, *Comm. de templo Athenarum* p. 109.7, 14 Delatte; Eustathius, *De engastromytho contra Origenem* 14.10 (metaphorically); Jo. Chrys., *In illud: memor fui dei* 61.695.39 Migne; Cyr. Alex., *Comm. in xii prophetas minores* 1.556.17 Pusey; id., *Comm. in Isaiam prophetam* 70.337.27 Migne; Zos. 3.25.2; Hero Byz. pp. 218.6, 246.15, 248.3, 264.8, 266.11 Schneider. The combination πυροφόρα βέλη is found only once, namely in the passage in Zosimus (fifth century?). Apart from our passage, the combination πυρφόρα βέλη is found fourteen times, from Arrian (second century) to Constantinos Manasses (twelfth century). Moreover, at *Her.* 53.5 (p. 67.8 De Lannoy) we find the verb πυρφορεῖ (there are no variants in De Lannoy's apparatus). Therefore it can be regarded as practically certain that πυρφόρα is the authentic reading in our passage, even if it is only preserved in **F**. The archetype may have had both readings or the error may have arisen in **A** and **E** independently or **F**'s reading may result from conjectural emendation.

2.4 (p. 42.1) ἐπορεύοντο μὲν γὰρ ἐν σελήνῃ λαμπρᾷ, φάσμα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμπούσης ἐνέπεσε τὸ δεῖνα γιγνομένη καὶ τὸ δεῖνα αὖ καὶ **οὐδὲν εἶναι** κτέ.

οὐδὲν εἶναι] οὐδὲν ⟨ἓν⟩ εἶναι Reiske^2 : οὐδὲν ⟨ἔμ⟩εινε Jackson : οὐδὲ μεῖναι vel οὐδὲν ⟨μ⟩εῖναι Rijksbaron

The change from the construction with finite verbs into the infinitive construction οὐδὲν εἶναι need not bother us, although here the transition is harsh even for Philostratus because there is no verb of saying involved; cf. however, the note on 2.2 (p. 40.21), where there is no verb of saying either. Alternatively, it might be possible to take οὐδὲν εἶναι as a sort of predicate dependent on γινομένη, on the same level as τὸ δεῖνα γινομένη καὶ τὸ δεῖνα αὖ: "it became this, and that, and to be nothing". Jackson conjectures οὐδὲν ⟨ἔμ⟩εινε, which must mean that the phantom never remained the same. Albert Rijksbaron has suggested οὐδὲ μεῖναι or οὐδὲν μεῖναι to me, both of which easily could have led to the transmitted οὐδὲν εἶναι; in itself οὐδὲν μεῖναι appears to me the more attractive of the two proposals. Reiske imposed the same meaning on the phrase by adding ⟨ἓν⟩ between οὐδὲν and εἶναι, explaining his conjecture as follows: "id est οὐδὲν μένον, ἀσφαλῶς καὶ βεβαίως τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένον, et nil fuisse unum idemque, certo manens".

I think that the phrase οὐδὲν εἶναι may well have several meanings simultaneously: the phantom changed its appearance continuously ("it did not remain the same"), it disappeared ("it came to be nothing") and it did not really exist ("it was nothing"). Such an interpretation would seem to do justice both to the character of the vampire and to Philostratus' elusive style. Therefore I have not changed the transmitted text.

2.5.1 (p. 42.8) "ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ," εἶπεν "εἰ μὴ **ἑαυτοῦ** ἐκλέλησμαι."

ἑαυτοῦ **A** : ἐμαυτοῦ **E F**

Forms of ἑαυτ- instead of ἐμαυτ- and σεαυτ- are found from Aeschylus onwards (KG 1.572; Woodard 1990). Schmid 4.69 mentions some cases in Philostratus. One of these is found near our passage (2.5.3 [p. 43.6]) which, in combination with the fact that ἑαυτοῦ is *lectio difficilior*, pleads in favour of ἑαυτοῦ.

2.5.3 (p. 43.5–6) "ἐγὼ δὲ μέγιστον τούτων ἀνελθὼν ὕψος οὐδὲν σοφώτερος ἑαυτοῦ **καταβήσομαι;**" "οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι," ἔφη κτέ.

καταβήσομαι; **A E** : καταβήσομαι· **F**

F and the editions (which derive from **F**'s apograph Laur.69.26) put a full stop after Damis' speech. **A E** have a question mark which suits the context much better. Damis states that he believed he would descend from the mountain wiser than he used to be. His argument is based on *a fortiori* reasoning. He had heard that others came down from mountains wiser; because the mountain he was climbing was higher than any mountain climbed by the ones he mentions he thinks that he will *a fortiori* come down wiser than he used to be. With the punctuation in **A E** Damis presents his argument in the form of

a rhetorical question. Apollonius then retorts with οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι (sc. σοφώτεροι ἑαυτῶν κατέβησαν). So the sequence is: (Damis) "(...) And having climbed the highest mountain of all I will not come down wiser?" (Apollonius) "⟨No, you won't,⟩ for nor did they ⟨come down wiser⟩." With a full stop at the end of Damis' speech Damis already has understood that his expectations will be thwarted. This is not in accordance with Damis' usual dumbness and it would make Apollonius' subsequent explanation superfluous.

2.6 (p. 43.24) (...) δεξάμενοι δὲ πλὴν τῶν κρεῶν πάντα **διήλασαν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς** καὶ ἐχώρουν πρὸς ἕω.

διήλασαν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς **A E F** : ἀπήλασαν {τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς} Kayser[2] : ἀπήλασαν ⟨ἐς⟩ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς Conybeare

Kayser[2] does not say anything about his motives for deleting τοὺς Ἰνδούς and he does not even mention the fact that he changes διήλασαν to ἀπήλασαν. I guess that he reasoned that διήλασαν means that the company crossed the whole of India which would bring them to China. Conybeare, who obviously did not realize that Kayser had changed διήλασαν to ἀπήλασαν *suo Marte*, added ⟨ἐς⟩ before τοὺς Ἰνδούς, translating "and then started off for India"; Conybeare's reading is accepted by Jones.

The transmitted text should not be tampered with. At this point in the narrative the company has not yet crossed the river Cophen, an affluent of the Indus, joining the Indus from the West. In this region they have a meeting with a number of Indians who welcome them and offer them wine and food. Having accepted the food (with the exception of the meat) the company διήλασαν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὸ ἕω. Normally one would interpret the name of the people as a metonymy for the country (which is the way Kayser seems to have interpreted the phrase) but Rutger Allan has ingeniously suggested to me that τοὺς Ἰνδούς here stands for the group of Indians with whom they had had such a pleasant meeting. The phrase then means: "they rode through the group of the Indian nomads and went to the east". Only after having crossed the Cophen (ch. 8) are they in India proper.

As to Kayser's deletion of τοὺς Ἰνδούς, the interpolation of τοὺς Ἰνδούς is hard to account for.

2.7.3 (p. 44.27–28) ὅτι δὲ οἶνον ἡγῇ καὶ **⟨σὺ⟩** τοῦτο τὸ πόμα, δηλοῖς τῷ σπένδειν τε **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ** τῷ Διὶ καὶ ὁπόσα ἐπὶ οἴνῳ εὔχεσθαι.

⟨σὺ⟩ supplevi : ⟨αὐτὸς⟩ Rijksbaron et Schrier ‖ {ἀπ'} αὐτοῦ Headlam

In the transmitted text οἶνον (ἡγῇ) is Topic while καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πόμα is Focus; this is very strange because Apollonius has already been arguing at length that the drink offered to them by the Indians should be regarded as wine. And therefore the whole sentence as it is transmitted is Topic so that the sentence has no Focus. What is new and therefore Focal, is the fact that Damis concurs with Apollonius' opinion. After having given himself two circumstantial proofs (Dionysus' anger and the drunkenness of Indians

drinking palm wine) Apollonius puts the crown on his argument by pointing out that Damis' own behaviour shows that he too regards the drink as wine. The addition of ⟨σὺ⟩ brings this out neatly: καὶ ⟨σὺ⟩ is Focus and τοῦτο τὸ πόμα is a Tail. It is telling that most translators deal with the phrase as if it actually contains σύ (or αὐτός, see below). Some instances: "Quod autem ipse potionem hanc vinum esse credas" (Olearius), "Daß du aber auch selbst dieses Getränk für Wein hältst" (Jacobs), "te ipsum autem pro vino hunc potum habere" (Westermann), "And that you yourself regard this drink as genuine wine" (Conybeare), "En dat je deze drank zelf ook beschouwt als wijn" (Mooij). Albert Rijksbaron and Omert Schrier have told me that they would prefer adding ⟨αὐτὸς⟩ but to my mind σύ is strong enough to mark the change from what Apollonius believes to what Damis thinks. Moreover, the omission of the two-letter word σύ is easier to explain than that of αὐτός.

Headlam's deletion of ἀπ' is attractive and it is accepted by Jones. σπένδειν is normally accompanied by the accusative of the liquid which is poured out but the partitive genitive is also found (cf. LSJ s.v. I.1; Headlam 1895, 312). A TLG search for σπένδειν ἀπό with the genitive of the poured liquid has yielded only one very late result: Andreas Cretensis, *Homilia de exaltatione s. crucis* 2.156 (seventh–eighth century AD) Καὶ ἠλέητο μὲν ὥστε καὶ οὕτω βιούς, ἔχειν ἐντυγχάνειν τῷ πλάσαντι καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ καὶ σπένδειν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. However, in Philostr. *Her.* 33.36 (p. 45.26–46.1 De Lannoy) we find ᾠδήν τε γὰρ τῆς λύρας τὸν Παλαμήδην ἐπεποίητο καὶ ᾖδεν αὐτὸν ὅσα τοὺς προτέρους τῶν ἡρώων, ἐδεῖτό τε ὄναρ ἐφίστασθαι οἱ, σπένδων ἀπὸ κρατῆρος οὗ Ἑρμῆς ὑπὲρ ὀνείρων πίνει. The *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. κρατηρίζων (p. 535.26) similarly has Ἤτοι τὸν οἶνον ἐν κρατῆρι κιρνῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ κρατήρων σπένδων (also in *Lex. Seg.* p. 274.3, Phot. κ 1063 and *Lex. Patm.* p. 154.19). Here the genitive is to be interpreted as separative (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 16.226–227) and not as partitive so that this is not a real parallel for σπένδειν ἀπό in our passage. In *VA* 5.15.1 (p. 156.20) we find γάλακτος δὲ αὐτῷ σπένδων. But Philostratus loves deviating from normal usage and therefore I do not exclude the possibility that he conflated the two expressions on purpose. Further, it may well be the case that single αὐτοῦ (which is itself the weakest anaphoric pronoun) was felt as too weak, which induced Philostratus to add ἀπό. Besides, it is hard to account for the interpolation of ἀπ'. And so after all I think we should accept the transmitted text.

2.8 (p. 45.8–10) (...) ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ βασιλευομένῃ ἠπείρῳ**, ἐν ᾗ πεφύτευται Νῦσα ὄρος ἐς κορυφὴν ἄκραν ὥσπερ ὁ ἐν Λυδίᾳ Τμῶλος ἀνατεῖνον**, ἀναβαίνειν δ' αὐτὸ ἔξεστιν.

ἐν ᾗ πεφύτευται ... Τμῶλος ἀνατεῖνον **A E** : ἐν ᾗ ἀνατεῖνον [******] Τμῶλος **F** : πεφύτευται νῦσα ὄρος ἐς κορυφὴν ἄκραν ὥσπερ ὁ ἐν Λυδίᾳ τμῶλος $\mathbf{F}^{2mg}$ (inserendum post ἐν ᾗ ἀνατεῖνον)

All the editions follow **F** as corrected by $\mathbf{F}^{2mg}$. The original text of **F** runs ἐν ᾗ ἀνατεῖνον [******] Τμῶλος; there are traces of letters in the erasure but I have not been able to decipher these, neither on the reproductions nor *in situ*. The second hand (who in all probability also erased the letters between ἀνατεῖνον and Τμῶλος) added a sign after

ἀνατεῖνον to indicate where the marginal addition should be inserted. In any case it is certain that ἀνατεῖνον precedes Τμῶλος in **F** although this cannot be stated with absolute certainty about its exemplar. Be that as it may, the fact that **A** and **E** agree in placing ἀνατεῖνον after Τμῶλος proves that this was the reading of the archetype. In itself, this position gives a much better text than the reading of the editions. The position of ἀνατεῖνον at the beginning of the clause, preceding the substantive ὄρος to which it belongs, is less attractive than the position at the end of the clause, with the comparison ὥσπερ ὁ ἐν Λυδίᾳ Τμῶλος as a splitter in the hyperbaton ὄρος ἐς κορυφὴν ἄκραν ἀνατεῖνον: in this way *comparans* and *comparandum* are more closely united. Moreover, the word order ἀνατεῖνον (neuter) νῦσα (feminine) ὄρος (neuter) is strange. Therefore the reading of **A** and **E** is superior to the reading of the editions.

2.9.2 (p. 46.4) οἱ δὲ (...) Διόνυσον γενέσθαι ποταμοῦ παῖδα Ἰνδοῦ λέγουσιν (...) Μηρόν τε **εὑρέσθαι** παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὄρος, ᾧ προσβέβηκεν ἡ Νῦσα κτέ.

εὑρέσθαι] εἰρῆσθαι Reiske[1] : εὑρῆσθαι Scheibe

If the transmitted εὑρέσθαι is retained it is best taken as "*get, gain, obtain*" (LSJ s.v. IV) as Westermann does ("Merumque montem ab illo donum accepisse")[92] rather than "Montem autem ab eo *μηρὸν* h.e. *femur* [appellatum] inveniri" as Olearius translates the phrase[93] because εὑρέσθαι is middle voice and not passive.

Reiske's εἰρῆσθαι, "a mountain was called Meros after him", is ingenious but not strictly necessary: with the transmitted reading we may assume that the Indian Dionysus, on hearing the story of his namesake's adventures in Zeus' thigh, thought it appropriate to give him a mountain bearing this very name. If Reiske's εἰρῆσθαι is accepted the phrase means: "when he had said that ... a mountain was called Meros after (*or* by) him ... and he planted the Nysa with the vine etc." This means that a mountain was called after him in his honour. The syntax of this sentence with its unannounced change of subjects is bewildering but quite in Philostratus' style. On the other hand the perfect εἰρῆσθαι is strange within the series of aorist infinitives.

On balance, I think that the transmitted text should be retained. If interpreted in the way Westermann, Conybeare and Phillimore do, the phrase is nicely balanced by the following phrase in which it is stated that the Theban Dionysus plants a vine in honour of his Indian namesake. In this way there is a mutual exchange of gifts between the two gods.

92 Similarly Conybeare ("the Dionysus of Thebes ... gained from this Dionysus a mountain called Merus") and Phillimore ("he was given Mount Mêros by him").

93 Similarly Jacobs ("und habe einen Berg Meros gefunden") and Jones ("the Theban discovered a mountain called Meros").

2.9.2 (p. 46.5) (...) καὶ τὴν Νῦσαν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐκφυτεῦσαι ***ἀγαγόντα*** ἐκ Θηβῶν τὸ γόνυ τῆς ἀμπέλου, οὗ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργιάσαι.

ἀγαγόντα Jackson : ἀπάγοντα **A**[1sl] Phot. : ἀπάγοντας **A E F** : ἀγαγόντι Reiske[1] : ἀπάγειν δὲ τὸν Reiske[2]

It is difficult to see how the plural *ἀπάγοντας*, found in **A E F**, might be construed. Schmid 4.102–104 discusses a number of irregularities with regard to Philostratus' use of number, such as a plural verb with a singular subject, but all the instances quoted by him are constructions *κατὰ σύνεσιν* in which the subject is a collective entity, for instance words such as *ἀγέλη*, *πλῆθος* or *στρατός* and names of cities and countries. In our passage, where there is no collective subject, the plural participle should be understood as referring to Dionysus and his company but in this whole passage there is no mention of Dionysus' companions. The unannounced switch to the plural is a bridge too far, even for Philostratus.

The aorist, postulated by Reiske[1] and Jackson, appears to be necessary because *ἐκφυτεῦσαι*, to which the participle belongs, refers to a completed state of affairs. KG 2.87, Anmerk. 10 note that in such cases the present participle can be used in poetry, especially in epic, but there seems to be no reason why Philostratus should use such an epicism here. Reiske[1] makes the Indian Dionysus the subject of *ἐκφυτεῦσαι* while *τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀγαγόντι* refers to the Theban Dionysus. Reiske[2] reads *τὼ Διονύσω*, in the dual, and changes *ἀπάγοντας* into *ἀπάγειν δὲ τόν*, "sed illum Thebanum [redeuntem in Graeciam] secum abstulisse [et in Graeciam invexisse] palmites vitis" which is a rather drastic and unconvincing solution.

Apart from the fact that the aorist is necessary here the compound *ἀπάγων* is problematic too in this context. *ἀπάγω* means for instance "lead away, carry off" (LSJ s.v. I.1) or "bring back, bring home" (LSJ s.v. II) but what is needed here is "bring to a certain place", "bring with him". The Theban Dionysus did not "carry off the vine from Thebes" but he rather "brought the vine with him from Thebes". Therefore I have decided to adopt Jackson's conjecture.[94]

2.10 (p. 46.24) (...) ἀλλ' ἐν κορυφῇ τῆς πέτρας ῥῆγμα εἶναί φασι τοὺς ὑπερπετομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐπισπώμενον, ὡς Ἀθήνησί τε ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν προδόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν γῆς, ***ἀφ'*** οὗ τὴν πέτραν Ἄορνον κεκλῆσθαί τε καὶ εἶναι.

ἀφ' (vel ἐφ') Reiske[1/2] (illud et Westermann) : ὑφ' **A E F**

For "being called after" both *ἀπό* and *ἐπί* with the genitive can be used. The transmitted *ὑφ'* can only mean "by", which is impossible here.[95] Reiske[1/2] suggests both *ἀπό* and *ἐπί*, stating (in Reiske[2]) that *ἀπό* means "quo ex tempore" while *ἐπί* means "qua de re". This distinction is too rigorous. For *ἀπό* in the sense of "qua de re" see e.g. Pl. *Cra.*

94 As usual, we can only guess at Jackson's motives for this conjecture.

95 In itself *ὑπό* with the genitive can be used for things to express the agent or the cause; see LSJ s.v. A.II.3.

417a6–8 καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου πραττόμενα "συμφέροντά" τε καὶ "σύμφορα" κεκλῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι ἔοικε. For ἐπί with the genitive in this sense see e.g. Hdt. 4.107 Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἵματα μὲν μέλανα φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι (where the second family however has ἀπ'), Hdt. 4.184.4 ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ὄρεος οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ δὴ Ἄτλαντες. Because ἀπό is much more frequent than ἐπί in combination with καλεῖσθαι/κεκλῆσθαι I have decided for ἀφ'.

2.11.2 (p. 47.16) τὸ γὰρ θηρίῳ τηλικούτῳ ἐπιτετάχθαι τηλικόνδε ὄντα καὶ εὐθύνειν αὐτὸ καλαύροπι, ἣν ὁρᾷς αὐτὸν **ἐμβάλλοντα** τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὥσπερ ἄγκυραν κτέ.

ἐμβάλλοντα Suda : ἐμβαλόντα **A E F**

The little boy who rides the elephant steers the animal by means of a pole which he sticks into the animal like an anchor. This can only mean that he puts the stick in different places of the elephant's body, according to the direction he wants it to take. Therefore the present participle is necessary. Its occurrence in Suda may or may not be intentional (the present and aorist participles of βάλλω are constantly confused in our mss.). The comparison of the pole with an anchor serves to indicate the force with which the boy has to press it into the elephant's hide and not to indicate the permanent position in which it finds itself. The image may also have been inspired by the fact that the pole secures the boy a position which is just as safe as a ship riding on anchor. With the aorist participle the meaning is that the boy moves the stick, which is permanently in the same place, into different directions which appears to be a far less effective way of steering the elephant; one involuntarily thinks of the so-called "joystick" used for playing computer games.

There is also a linguistic argument in favour of the present participle: in cases where the present indicative of ὁρᾶν governs an accusative and participle construction, the participle appears to be always in the present stem. A TLG search for ὁρᾷς + -ντα gives scores of cases of the present participle but none for the aorist participle (apart from our passage).

2.11.3 (p. 48.5) "ἕτερον οὖν τι," **ἔφη "ὦ Δάμι, ἐστίν,** ὃ τὸν ἐλέφαντα τοῦτον ἡνιοχεῖ καὶ πέμπει κτέ."

ἔφη ὦ Δάμι ἐστίν **E F** : ἐστιν ἔφη ὦ δάμι **A**

The word order of **E F** is more in accordance with Philostratus' *usus* than the one in **A**, which has all the appearance of being a simplification introduced to avoid the hyperbaton ἕτερον οὖν τι (...) ἐστίν. Here are some instances where ἔφη followed by a vocative creates a hyperbaton: 1.34.1 (p. 33.11–12) "ἀλλὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ παιδὶ δῆλον", 1.37.2 (p. 36.28–29) "ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ξυγγνώμης," ἔφη "βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα εἶπον".

2.11.4 (p. 48.9) "τὸ θηρίον" ἔφη "τοῦτο εὐπαίδευτόν τε παρὰ πάντα ἐστί, κἀπειδὰν ἅπαξ ἀναγκασθῇ ὑπὸ **ἄνθρωπον** ζῆν κτέ."

ἄνθρωπον **E F** : ἀνθρώπων **A** : ἀνθρώπῳ Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}

ὑπό indicating subjection or dependence can be accompanied by both the dative and the accusative (LSJ s.v. B.II.2 and C.II respectively). Therefore ἄνθρωπον, the reading of **E F**, can be accepted and Kayser's conjecture is unnecessary. Moreover, ἄνθρωπον easily explains **A**'s ἀνθρώπων which must be due to the immediately preceding passive ἀναγκασθῇ and which was facilitated by the isochrony of omikron and omega.

2.12.1 (p. 48.24) μάχονται γὰρ δὴ ἐπεσκευασμένοι πύργους οἵους κατὰ δέκα καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ὁμοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν δέξασθαι, ἀφ' ὧν τοξεύουσί τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ καθάπερ **ἐκ πυλ⟨ών⟩ων** βάλλοντες.

ἐκ πυλ⟨ών⟩ων Bain : ἐκ πυλῶν suspectum habet Reiske^{1} : ἴσως ἐκ πυργῶν Morel in margine : ἐκ τειχῶν Reiske^{1} (et Platt) : ἐκποδὼν Reiske^{2} : ἐκ πόλεων Van Wulfften Palthe

The transmitted reading ἐκ πυλῶν is flatly impossible. Bain's solution ἐκ πυλ⟨ών⟩ων is by far the most plausible of all suggestions because the corruption can easily be explained as the result of haplography. Bain refers to the elaborate discussion of the πυλών in Husson 1983, 243–247.

2.12.2 (p. 49.5) ὄνομα γὰρ τοῦτο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἔθετο μεγάλου ἀξιώσας μέγαν. **ξυνεβάλλοντο** δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πεντήκοντα εἶναι καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὔπω λέγοντες καὶ ὁπόσα γεγονὼς ἐμάχετο.

ξυνεβάλλοντο **A E** : ξυνεβάλοντο **F**

Both the imperfect and the aorist are used for this verb with the meaning "guess". For the imperfect see for instance Hdt. 7.142.2 οἱ μὲν δὴ {κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν} συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας; for the aorist see for instance Hdt. 5.1.3 νικώντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὡς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παίονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ εἶπάν κου παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι· Νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον. Both passages deal with the interpretation of an oracle. In Hdt. 7.142.2 (the oracle of the wooden wall) there is no mention of the reason for the interpretation given by the two groups; in Hdt. 5.1.3 the Paeonians arrive at a conclusion about the oracle on the basis of the victory of the Perinthians. This seems to imply that the imperfect means "to have an opinion based on a guess" while the aorist means "to come to a conclusion based on a guess".

In our passage it is improbable that the natives had never paid a thought to the question of when the battle took place in which the elephant Ajax participated. Therefore the imperfect is to be preferred. By the same token Kayser's conjecture ξυμβαλέσθαι for

the transmitted ξυμβάλλεσθαι at 2.19.2 (p. 54.19) is wrong. — The aorist ξυνεβάλοντο could only be saved by assuming that it has "pluperfect" meaning: "the inhabitants had conjectured that ..."; but this does not fit the context.

2.13.1 (p. 49.16) οὗτος ὁ Ἰόβας τοὺς ὀδόντας κέρατα ἡγεῖται τῷ φύεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς ὅθενπερ οἱ κρόταφοι, παραθήγεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ ἑτέρῳ, μένειν δ' ὡς ἔφυσαν καὶ μή, ὅπερ οἱ ὀδόντες, ἐκπίπτειν **εἶτ' ἀ⟨να⟩φύεσθαι**.

εἶτ' ἀ⟨να⟩φύεσθαι Kayser^{2} : εἶτα φύεσθαι **A E F**

Kayser's conjecture, which he prints in the 1870 edition without mentioning it in the critical notes, is confirmed by the double recurrence of the same verb in the immediate sequel (l. 18 *ἀναφύεται* and *ἀναφύσονται*). The *simplex* φύεσθαι means "grow" (that is, in the case of teeth, for the first time; in our passage l. 14 φύεσθαι and l. 15 ἔφυσαν); *ἀναφύεσθαι* is "grow back again". The latter is absolutely necessary here.

2.13.2 (p. 49.19) ὀδόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεσοῦνται καὶ ἀναφύσονται πάντες, ζῴων δ' ἂν οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ χαυλιόδους **ἂν** ἢ κυνόδους αὐτομάτως ἐκπέσοι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπανέλθοι ἐκπεσών.

ἂν post χαυλιόδους del. Par.1696^{pc}

The corrector of Par.1696 took offence at the double ἄν in which he was followed by Kayser. For double ἄν see KG 1.246–248, who remark (p. 246) that the second ἄν usually stands "nach dem Verb oder nach einem hervorzuhebenden Worte". In our passage it is questionable whether χαυλιόδους needs highlighting; I would argue that while the domain of the first ἄν is the whole sentence, the domain of the second ἄν is the constituent χαυλιόδους ἢ κυνόδους, in which ἢ κυνόδους comes as a sort of afterthought after χαυλιόδους. For other cases of double ἄν in Philostratus, see *VA* 2.37.3 (p. 69.10) πολλὰ δ' ἂν (ἂν **A**: om. **E F**) καὶ μαντεῖα λέγοιμ' ἂν κτέ; 6.21.5 (p. 207.27) ἆρ' οὐκ ἄν σοι δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κἂν ἀντειπεῖν αὐτός. Philostratus is fond of the sequence οὐδ'/οὔτ' ἄν ... οὐδ'/οὔτ' ἄν; here οὐδενί ... ἄν is a variant of the first οὐδ' ἄν.

2.13.3 (p. 50.6) εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤθη ἐλεφάντων χρὴ ἀναγράφειν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἑλῶν ἁλισκομένους ἀνοήτους ἡγοῦνται καὶ **κωφοὺς** Ἰνδοί κτέ.

κωφοὺς Jacobs^{2} : κούφους **A E F**

Kayser^{1} (in the notes, p. 181) rejects Jacobs' conjecture by referring to 2.36.3 (p. 68.8–11) οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ξυμπόται τὰ μὲν ὄντα ὁρῶσιν ὡς ὄντα, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ὄντα οὔτ' ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτοῖς οὔθ' ὑποτυποῦνται, κοῦφοί τε οὔπω ἔδοξαν, οὐδὲ μεστοὶ βλακείας οὐδὲ εὐηθείας ἢ ἱλαρώτεροι τοῦ προσήκοντος. But there κοῦφοι means "light-minded, thoughtless", whereas in this passage we need the meaning "stupid, dumb", which is adequately expressed by κωφούς but not by κούφους.

2.14.1 (p. 50.14) (...) καὶ τοὺς μείζους αὐτῶν ἀνειληφότας τοὺς αὐτῶν πώλους ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ὀδόντων προβολὰς τάς τε προνομαίας **ἐπεζευκότας** δεσμοῦ ἕνεκα "ταῦτα μέν," ἔφη κτέ.

ἐπεζευκότας **A E** : ἐπεζευχότας **F**

The agreement of **A** and **E** shows that ἐπεζευκότας must have been the reading of the archetype. In the TLG I have found only two more active perfect forms of the verb ζεύγνυμι: ἐπεζεύχει Epiphanius, *Panarion* 1.428.6 Holl (fourth century) and ἐζευκέναι *Martyrium sanctorum Juliani et Basilissae* 1.8.6 (eighth century). I assume that **F**'s reading is due to conjectural emendation, based on the fact that forms of the perfect active of verbs like μείγνυμι and δείκνυμι are almost always aspirated (e.g. Plb. 16.10.1 συμμεμιχέναι, Gal. 12.335.3 Kühn μεμίχασι, 13.558.4 Kühn δέδειχεν, D.C. 40.40.5 ἐνεπεπήχεσαν, 67.11.4 συμμεμιχώς).

2.14.2 (p. 50.25) καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἴπῃς, ὦ Δάμι· τουτὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῷον δεύτερον ἀνθρώπου τάττω κατὰ ξύνεσίν τε καὶ **βουλήν**. ἀλλὰ τάς τε ἄρκτους **ἐνθυμοῦ{μαι}** μᾶλλον, ὡς ἀγριώταται θηρίων οὖσαι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σκύμνων πράττουσι κτέ.

βουλήν **A** : βουλάς **E F** ‖ ἐνθυμοῦ{μαι} Reiske$^{1/2}$: aut ἐνθυμοῦ aut ἐνθυμοῦ μοι (hoc et Jackson) Reiske^{2}

κατὰ ξύνεσίν τε καὶ βουλήν is a more or less tautological expression for "intelligence and rational capacity" which is better expressed by the singular βουλήν than by the plural βουλάς which rather means "plans". Moreover there are some parallels for the combination of σύνεσις and singular βουλή but none for σύνεσις with the plural βουλαί. Some instances: LXX *Jb.* 12.13 παρ' αὐτῷ σοφία καὶ δύναμις, αὐτῷ βουλὴ καὶ σύνεσις; Bas.Caes. *Enarr. in proph. Isaiam* 4.134.20 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὸν Θεὸν δοκοῦσιν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι γνῶσις καὶ σύνεσις καὶ βουλὴ καὶ ἰσχὺς καὶ σοφία, καὶ εὐσέβεια, ἀξιοῦσι τὸ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα ἐπικεκλῆσθαι αὐταῖς. Further, it should be noted that Damis, when referring to this passage at 2.15.1 (p. 52.5–6), recapitulates κατὰ ξύνεσίν τε καὶ βουλήν by means of the singular forms σοφίαν καὶ νοῦν.

Reiske rightly saw that after the prohibitive subjunctive καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς (...) ἀλλά there should follow a positive imperative which serves as the alternative for καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς. The corruption of the imperative ἐνθυμοῦ into ἐνθυμοῦμαι may have been caused by the first person singular indicative τάττω in the intervening explanatory parenthesis. The train of thought is: "Don't even mention elephants (...) but rather think of bears etc." With the transmitted text many translators feel compelled to add "only" to καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐλεφάντας εἴπῃς, for instance Olearius, Jacobs, Jones and Mooij. For the idiom καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς cf. e.g. D.C. 52.13.6 καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι καὶ ὣς στασιάσουσί τινες. For the construction καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς (...) ἀλλά cf. e.g. Athanasius *Sermo in nativitatem Christi* 28.968.1–2 Migne Εἰπὲ οὖν Θεοτόκον τὴν Παρθένον, καὶ μὴ λέγε Θεοδόχον· μᾶλλον δὲ λέγε Θεοδόχον καὶ Θεοτόκον. Reiske contemplated the possibility that ἐνθυμοῦμαι is a corruption of ἐνθυμοῦ μοι (the same suggestion was made by Jackson) but I have not found parallels for the ethical dative with ἐνθυμοῦ.

2.16 (p. 52.26) Ἐγὼ δὲ εὗρον ἐν τοῖς Ἰόβα λόγοις, ὡς καὶ ξυλλαμβάνουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ καὶ προΐστανται τοῦ ἀπειπόντος, κἂν ἐξέλωνται **ξυστόν**, τὸ δάκρυον τῆς ἀλόης ἐπαλείφουσι τοῖς τραύμασι περιεστῶτες ὥσπερ ἰατροί.

ξυστόν Jacobs[6] : αὐτὸν **A E F**

Most translators take the transmitted κἂν ἐξέλωνται αὐτόν as "if they succeed in rescuing him" (Phillimore) but I have not found parallels for absolute ἐξαιρεῖν with this meaning (which, in fact, supposes the mental suppletion of something like ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου). Moreover, the elephants protect their wounded comrade by taking up a position between him and the enemies (προΐστανται). Olearius argues that we should mentally supply something like ἀκόντια or βέλη and he translates "postquam tela extraxerint". Jacobs, in a note in his German translation, rightly argues that this is far-fetched but he sympathizes with the interpretation postulated by Olearius. He ingeniously suggests reading ξυστόν for αὐτόν, a conjecture which he supports by referring to similar passages in Aelian and Plutarch (which were already referred to by Olearius): Ael. *NA* 7.41 Ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἀκούω τῶν τετρωμένων τοὺς ἀτρώτους πεφεισμένως ἐξαιρεῖν καὶ ξυστὰ καὶ ἀκόντια, ὥσπερ οὖν χειρουργίας ἐπιστήμονας καὶ μαθόντας τὴν ἐν τοῖσδε σοφίαν; Plu. 974d3–6 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρουργίᾳ χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἱστοροῦσι· καὶ γὰρ ξυστὰ καὶ λόγχας καὶ τοξεύματα, παριστάμενοι τοῖς τετρωμένοις, ἄνευ σπαραγμοῦ ῥᾳδίως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς ἐξέλκουσιν. Note that παριστάμενοι in the Plutarch passage corresponds to Philostratus' περιεστῶτες.

2.17.1 (p. 53.1) Τὰ δὲ Νεάρχῳ τε καὶ **Ὀρθαγόρᾳ** περὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ εἰρημένα, ὡς εἰσβάλλει μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν οὗτος κτέ.

Ὀρθαγόρᾳ Jacoby : Πυθαγόρᾳ **A E F**

In itself, the reading Πυθαγόρᾳ is not impossible: there is a tradition that the philosopher Pythagoras went to India (see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.15.70.1). And it is also possible (although not very probable) that Philostratus is thinking of another Pythagoras. Even so, Jacoby's conjecture is supported by the fact that in *VA* 3.53 (p. 107.3–4) Nearchus and Orthagoras are also mentioned in one breath. And the change of Ὀρθαγόρᾳ to Πυθαγόρᾳ is easily made in a work about a Pythagorean philosopher.

2.18.2 (p. 54.2) (...) καὶ ἄλλως τὸν θεὸν οἶδα **πέρατα** τῆς γῆς ξυμπάσης Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς ἀποφαίνοντα μελαίνοντά τε τοὺς μὲν ἀρχομένου ἡλίου, τοὺς δὲ λήγοντος κτέ.

πέρατα Bentley (et Reiske[1]) : κέρατα **A E F** : τέρατα Aldina

The collocation κέρατα (τῆς) γῆς is found nowhere and indeed it is difficult to imagine what the metaphor was supposed to convey. Conybeare translates "at the two extremes or horns of the entire earth"; Jones has "the limits of the entire earth"; LSJ s.v. κέρας V.6 mention our passage for the meaning "*extremities* of the earth" but they quote no other attestations for this meaning. Olearius defends the words by referring to Plin. *Nat.*

3.43 "per sinus lunatos duo cornua emittens, Leucopetram dextra, Lacinium sinistra", which describes the Gulf of Taranto which indeed closely resembles a pair of horns. The image of horns, that is, does not apply to the extremities alone but it includes the whole of the horns. This does not apply to the description of Ethiopia and India in our passage: Ethiopia and India are the extremes of the earth but they cannot be said to be the earth's horns.[96] The collocation πέρατα (τῆς) γῆς, on the other hand, occurs frequently, first and foremost in LXX (whence it is often found in Christian authors) but also in pagan authors such as Dio Chrysostom, Ptolemy, Heliodorus, Themistius and Julian. It echoes the Homeric πείρατα γαίης (e.g. *Il.* 14.200). I therefore accept Bentley's conjecture which Reiske arrived at independently. The Aldine edition has τέρατα ("miracles") which is found in LXX and hence often in Christian authors.

2.20.2 (p. 55.4) τὰ δὲ Τάξιλα μέγεθος μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Νίνον, τετειχίσθαι δὲ ξυμμέτρως, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἑλλάδες, βασίλεια δὲ εἶναι ἀνδρὸς τὴν Πώρου **ποτὲ** ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντος.

ποτὲ **A E F** Phot. : τότε $\mathbf{A}^{1sl}$

τότε is only found as a variant reading in **A**. It might very well be a conjecture, either by the scribe of **A** or by one of his predecessors. τότε refers to the time when Apollonius and his company were in India; ποτέ refers to the time of Porus, who ruled the country as a vassal of Alexander the Great. With the reading ποτέ the meaning is: "the palace was the seat of the man who ruled the domain which once belonged to Porus". ποτέ is *lectio difficilior* and it is an elegant preparation of the stories about Porus which will follow later on. For these two reasons ποτέ should be accepted as the authentic reading.

2.20.2 (p. 55.5) νεὼν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἰδεῖν φασιν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν **ἑκατομπέδων** λίθου κογχυλιάτου κτέ.

ἑκατομπέδων $\mathbf{A}^{1mg}$: ἑκατὸν ποδῶν **A E F** : ἑκατομπόδων Kayser$^{1/2}$

The reading of the mss., τῶν ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, can hardly be correct because of the addition of the article. I have not found instances of τῶν [number] ποδῶν except in cases where the number was already mentioned before or implied by the context; see for instance Hero Mech. *Stereometrica* 1.32a.2 σύνθες τοὺς β πόδας τῆς κορυφῆς καὶ τοὺς ι πόδας τῆς βάσεως· ὁμοῦ γίνονται πόδες ιβ· ὧν γίνονται ς. ταῦτα ποίει ἐφ' ἑαυτά· γίνονται πόδες λς. πάλιν ὑφείλον ἀπὸ τῶν ι ποδῶν τῆς κορυφῆς τοὺς β πόδας. So Kayser was right to reject τῶν ἑκατὸν ποδῶν but his choice to print τῶν ἑκατομπόδων was not felicitous. Obviously he did not know the marginal reading of **A**, τῶν ἑκατομπέδων; at any rate he does not

96 It is noteworthy that Philostratus stresses the Western position of the Ethiopians (λήγοντος ἡλίου); normally the Ethiopians are said to live in the most southern part of the world. Probably Philostratus regards Ethiopia and India together as the most southern parts of the world, India in the south-east, Ethiopia in the south-west.

mention it. A TLG search shows that ἑκατόμποδος is very rare (seven occurrences [apart from this passage]: S. *OC* 718, quoted by Suda ν 330 and the scholium ad loc.; Ath. *Epit.* 2.2.84; and three occurrences in Eustathius). ἑκατόμπεδος is much better attested (41 occurrences); it is also found in *VA* 6.11.15 (p. 194.18). Moreover, ἑκατόμπεδον and not ἑκατόμποδον is the usual indication of a temple with a length of one hundred feet. And so τῶν ἑκατομπέδων must be the authentic reading here.

2.21.1 (p. 55.26) (...) οὐ γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πᾶσαν ξυμφρονοῦσαν **παρατάξεσθαί** ποτε αὐτόν κτέ.

παρατάξεσθαί **A** : παρατάξασθαί **E F**

Cobet 1859, 142 censured Kayser for adopting the future infinitive with ἄν ("Ne Philostratus quidem *ἄν* cum *futuro* potuit coniungere") but Kayser retained this reading in the 1870 edition, defending it in n. 17 on p. XXIV. In Homer there are many cases of ἄν with the future but most older scholars deny its existence in Classical Attic (see KG 1.209; Goodwin 1889, §§196–197; Stahl 1907, 288–290; see also De Strycker-Slings 1994 ad Pl. *Ap.* 29c4–5). But after the Second World War the tables were turning: see Moorhouse 1946 and Raeder 1953. For further discussion see e.g. Verdenius 1955, 265; Macleod 1956; De Vries 1969 ad Pl. *Phdr*. 227b9–10; Radt on Str. 759.32, Radt 2013, 282; Radt 2015b, 278; Zingg 2017. Even so, nowadays too the construction often meets with scepticism. It is not mentioned at all in Rijksbaron's *Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek* and in the *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*. Scholars seem to have been lulled asleep by our editions from which the future with ἄν has almost completely disappeared, as a result of the activity of editors who don't accept the collocation. Unknown, unloved.[97] I am fully convinced by the arguments in favour of

97 The case of Thucydides is illustrative (I have found the material in Herbst 1867). In Thucydides there are five passages where the (large majority of) the mss. have a future infinitive with ἄν: 2.80.8 ἀφικνοῦνταί τε ἐπὶ Στράτον, πόλιν μεγίστην τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, ῥᾳδίως (+ ἄν ABEFGM) σφίσι τἆλλα προσχωρήσειν; 5.82.5 ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀργείων ἐν τούτῳ φοβούμενος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίαν πάλιν προσαγόμενός τε καὶ νομίζων μέγιστον ἂν σφᾶς ὠφελῆσαι (sic g: ὠφελήσειν cett.), τειχίζει μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν; 6.66.1 ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μακρᾶς οὔσης τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῖς, καθ' ἡσυχίαν καθῖσαν τὸ στράτευμα ἐς χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον, καὶ ἐν ᾧ μάχης τε ἄρξειν ἔμελλον ὁπότε βούλοιντο καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἥκιστ' ἂν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ λυπήσειν; 8.25.5 (...) νομίζοντες, εἰ προσαγάγοιντο Μίλητον, ῥᾳδίως ἂν σφίσι καὶ τἆλλα προσχωρῆσαι (προσχωρήσαι (sic) G in ras.; προσχωρήσειν cett.); 8.71.1 ὁ δὲ νομίζων τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν, οὐδ' εὐθὺς οὕτω τὸν δῆμον τὴν παλαιὰν ἐλευθερίαν παραδώσειν, εἴ τε στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἴδοι σφῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάζειν (sic M: ἡσυχάσειν cett.). In all passages the OCT removes the construction (with very weak ms. support) with the exception of 6.66.1 (where Classen-Steup 1905 ad loc. read λυπήσειαν; Dover 1965 ad loc. suggests that Thucydides wrote λυπῆσαι).

There are also three passages in Thucydides where the future participle with ἄν is found in (part of) the tradition: 5.15.2 σφαλέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Δηλίῳ παραχρῆμα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, γνόντες νῦν μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνδεξαμένους (sic G: ἐνδεξομένους cett.), ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκεχειρίαν; 6.20.2 ἐπὶ γὰρ πόλεις (...) οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰκότως ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας προσδεξαμένας

the collocation. Therefore I have decided to follow Kayser and to accept the future. For another instance of the future indicative with ἄν in Philostratus see *Her.* 31.1 (p. 39.13–15 De Lannoy) πατρός τε γὰρ εἶναι Λοκρῶν δυνατωτάτου, στρατιάν τε οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄγειν, οὐδὲ δουλεύσειν ποτὲ ἑκὼν οὔτ' ἂν Ἀτρείδαις οὔτε ἄλλῳ οὐδενί, "ἔστ' ἂν ἥδε ἀστράπτῃ." At 2.37.1 (p. 68.23) I have conjectured ἂν ὑποκρινοῦνται for ἂν ὑποκρίνωνται of **A E** and **F**'s ἂν ὑποκρίναιντο.

2.21.1 (p. 55.28) ἀπαγγείλαντος δέ τινος αὐτῷ, ὅτι Δαρεῖον **ᾔρηκε ⟨βασιλέα⟩**, "βασιλέα," ἔφη "ἄνδρα δὲ οὔ."

ᾔρηκε ⟨βασιλέα⟩ Scaliger (et Jacobs[2]) : ᾔρηκε⟨, ἠρηκέναι⟩ Reiske[1]

In the transmitted text there is a logical gap between the messenger's remark that Alexander had captured Darius and Porus' reaction to this remark. The gap is filled admirably by the addition of βασιλέα to the messenger's remark. Porus picks up the messenger's last word and gives the message a twist of his own. The conjecture was made by Scaliger and by Jacobs (who did not know of Scaliger's conjecture). The omission is easily explained as the result of haplography. Morel also added βασιλέα but he placed it before ᾔρηκε (for which Morel has εἴρηκε), which makes its omission much harder to explain.

2.21.1 (p. 56.2–3) τὸν δὲ ἐλέφαντα, ἐφ' οὗ μάχεσθαι ἔμελλε, κοσμήσαντος τοῦ ὀρεωκόμου καὶ εἰπόντος "οὗτος σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, **σώσει**," "ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν" ἔφη "τοῦτον, ἢν γε ἀνὴρ ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος **γένωμαι**."

σώσει Cobet : οἴσει **A E F** : ὀγκώσει Kayser[2Adn] ‖ γένωμαι **A** : γίγνωμαι **E** : γίνωμαι **F**

Various attempts have been undertaken to save the transmitted οἴσει, none of which is convincing. Olearius argues that φέρειν is first used in the sense of "*portare*", then in the sense of "*ducere*". But this conflicts with the following ἢν γε ἀνὴρ ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος γένωμαι: Porus means that he will show himself to be a real man and this doesn't suit the activity of leading an elephant (which, as we have seen in ch. 11 of this book, can also be done be a thirteen year old boy). Kayser[1], in his note (p. 181), suggests that the verb can mean "*portare*" and "*celebrem reddere*", which probably induced him to conjecture ὀγκώσει in the notes to the 1870 edition. With Cobet's σώσει the groom just means to say: "Your elephant is ready to carry you safely, sir"; Porus, in his answer, then uses the verb in the literal sense. Cobet 1859, 121 points out that in the end the elephant did save Porus' life in the battle, as is told in the moving story in Plu. 970c–d. It is very well possible that Philostratus supposes that his readers recall this anecdote which lends divinatory power to the groom's remark. The corruption of σώσει to οἴσει is easily made: both words

(προσδεξομένας CEM); 7.67.4 (...) ὡς τῶν γε παρόντων οὐκ ἂν πράξαντες (sic AF: πράξοντες cett. Π) χεῖρον. In 7.67.4 the support of the papyrus is remarkable. In all three places the OCT has the aorist participle.

are similar in sound and aspect and it is considered a normal task of elephants to carry people.

Let us now turn to γένωμαι. Normally, the aorist subjunctive with ἄν, when referring to the future, corresponds to the Latin *futurum exactum*, as in D.S. 37.11.1 ἐὰν δὲ γένωμαι πολίτης τῷ Δρούσου νόμῳ, πατρίδα ἡγήσομαι τὴν Ῥώμην, literally "once I will have become a citizen by force of Drusus' law, I will regard Rome as my fatherland." Obviously, this interpretation will not do in our passage but even so the aorist should be kept: see e.g. Pl. *Tht.* 209a1 Φράσω, ἐὰν οἷός τε γένωμαι, and Isoc. 12.6 (...) ἵν' ἦν πως οἷός τε γένωμαι, τοὺς μὲν παύσω βλασφημοῦντας, τοὺς δ' εἰδέναι ποιήσω περὶ ἃ τυγχάνω διατρίβων, where ἐὰν/ἦν οἷός τε γένωμαι is more or less equivalent to ἤν γε ἀνὴρ ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος γένωμαι in our passage. In such cases the aorist indicates that the future situation is perceived as bounded.[98]

2.21.2 (p. 56.13) παρασχὼν γὰρ ἐμαυτόν, οἷον Ἀλέξανδρος εἶδε, πάντα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ ἀπώλεσα καὶ **⟨ἀν⟩εκτησάμην**.

⟨ἀν⟩εκτησάμην Lucarini

Lucarini's conjecture is convincing: due to his defeat Porus lost everything and due to Alexander's magnanimity he regained everything on the same day. Lucarini 2004, 253 refers to two similar passages in *VA*: 1.21.2 (p. 22.15–17) φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ ξυγγεγονότες οὐ τῶν φαύλων εἶναι, εἰ δὴ Οὐαρδάνης οὗτος, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολωλυΐάν ποτ' αὐτῷ νῦν ἀνεκτημένος, and 1.28.1 (p. 29.16) ποστὸν δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ἔτος ἀνακτηθείσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ;

It is remarkable that there are three passages in which the preverb ἀνα has got lost in less than twenty pages: the other two are 2.13.1 (p. 49.16) εἶτ' ἀ⟨να⟩φύεσθαι Kayser[2] : εἶτα φύεσθαι **A E F**; 2.31.3 (p. 64.12) ⟨ἀνα⟩κτήσασθαι Jackson: κτήσασθαι **A E F**.

2.22.1 (p. 56.22) "ταυτὶ δὲ" ἦ δ' ὃς "ὑπὲρ τίνος μίγνυσιν; οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ ἄνθους, ὥσπερ αἱ **κήριναι**."

κήριναι Toup[2] : κορῖναι **A E F**: κορίνναι Reiske[2] : κόραι ναὶ Gruter (et Salmasius) : κορίσκαι Jacobs[1]

The point of the comparison appears to be clear enough: the art of painting does not mix colours for the exclusive purpose of obtaining a beautiful colour. The problem lies in the transmitted κορῖναι which is not attested anywhere else. The singular form κόριννα (diminutive of κόρη) is always used as a proper name; the plural is not found. So if we want to stay close to the transmitted reading we might opt for κόρινναι, accepting that it is the only instance both of the plural and of the common noun. Alternatively we might have recourse to other attested diminutives of κόρη such as κορίσκαι (Jacobs' conjec-

98 Donald Mastronarde has written the following to me: "I would say the aorist of γίγνομαι with a predicate adjective often means "prove to be on a particular occasion" or "show oneself to be on a particular occasion" and that is exactly what is happening here."

ture). Reiske, who wants to keep κορίναι (*sic*) or change it into κορίνναι (*sic*), argues that the word means "puppet": "pupae quae pinguntur a figillariis, nulla arte pictoria, sed tantummodo ut puerulis et puellis colorum nitor placeat." But apart from the fact that this is far-fetched the comparison breaks down: αἱ κορῖναι should be parallel to the art of painting, not to the results of the art of painting.

Toup suggested κήριναι, "waxen", and here more specifically "women who use make up", arguing that it is derived from κηρός, "wax", which is mentioned in Philostr. *Ep.* 22 (pp. 236–237 Kayser). In that passage, κηρός figures in a list of makeup articles. In the longer version of this letter (printed at the bottom of the page by Kayser) we find the phrase ταῖς κηρίναις γυναιξίν. This is conclusive in favour of Toup's conjecture which has been accepted by all editors and translators since Kayser[1].[99]

The conjecture κόραι ναί, which was made by Gruter and Salmasius independently, is more ingenious than attractive because ναί is inappropriate at the beginning of Damis' answer.

2.22.1 (p. 56.25) ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν ἐξεικάζει τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τεττάρων ἵππων, οἷος ἐνταῦθα λέγεται φαίνεσθαι, τοτὲ δ' αὖ **διαπυρσαίνοντα** τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐπειδὰν αἰθέρα ὑπογράφῃ καὶ θεῶν οἶκον.

διαπυρσαίνοντα **A E F** : διαπυρσεύοντα Par.1696[1pc] : διαπυρσεύοντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ **F**[mg]

The verb διαπυρσαίνω is not attested elsewhere but the *simplex* πυρσαίνω is found in Philostr. *Ep*. 40 (p. 247.7 Kayser) Ἡ πυρσαίνουσα μίλτος τὰ χείλη καὶ τὴν παρειὰν ὑπογράφουσα κώλυμα φιλημάτων, and in other authors. The meaning of (δια)πυρσαίνω, "colouring red", which may well be understood as "setting the sky in flames" (as the sun does at sunrise and sunset), is much more appropriate than the meaning of διαπυρσεύω, "*blazon abroad as by beacon-fires*" (LSJ s.v.). The genitive τοῦ οὐρανοῦ is governed by the preverb δια-.

2.22.2 (p. 57.10) οὐχ ὑπεριδὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος (οὐδὲ γὰρ πικρὸς πρὸς τὰς ἐλέγξεις ἦν) "ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο" ἔφη "**βούλει** λέγειν, ὦ Δάμι, τὸ ταῦτα μὲν ἄσημά τε καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φέρεσθαι τό γε ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ κτέ."

βούλει **A E F** : βούλῃ Reiske[2] (et Phillimore)

Damis blushed when he saw that his previous remarks had led to the silly conclusion that God is a painter. Apollonius notices this but he doesn't want to rub it in. He suggests an alternative to Damis: "I guess you mean to say that it is not God who makes paintings out of the clouds, but that we do so by our naturally born imitative power." With the transmitted βούλει the sentence is a question which at first sight would seem to

99 Phillimore, with his usual waywardness, translates the word as "wax-candles", probably supposing that in Antiquity as nowadays candles might have all kinds of colours.

mean "I suppose you don't mean to say etc." but this is the opposite of what we need. What the context requires is: "I suppose you want to say that etc." As Reiske saw, this is expressed by μή with the subjunctive, which can be regarded as an ellipse of ὅρα μή: "vide num hoc volueris dicere, aut nescio an hoc volueris". See KG 1.224: "Oft tritt der Begriff der Besorgnis in den Hintergrund, sodass diese Wendung fast als feinere Form der Behauptung erscheint." This is in full accordance with Apollonius' face-saving strategy with regard to Damis here.

However, as Christopher Jones has pointed out to me, Fraenkel 1950, ad A. *A.* 683, illustrates that KG 2.524 Anmerk. 3 are wrong in stating "Wenn auf eine mit μή oder ἆρα μή eingeleitete Frage eine bejahende Antwort folgt, so geschieht dies immer wider Erwarten des Fragenden." Apart from A. *A.* 683 Fraenkel refers to A. *Supp.* 294, *Pr.* 247 ("where the asker of the question expects an affirmative answer or at least thinks it probable") and S. *OC* 1500–1503.[100] If we take our passage in the same vein as the passages referred to by Fraenkel μὴ βούλει is even somewhat stronger than μὴ βούλῃ. Therefore I have decided to accept the transmitted text.

2.22.3 (p. 57.21) "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν "ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτε γραφίδος τινὸς ἥφθαι, **μηδὲ** ὀργάνου τινὸς ἢ χρώματος, ἀλλ' ἀμαθῶς ἔχειν τοῦ γράφειν."

μηδὲ **A E** (deest **F**) : μήτ' Westermann : μήτε Kayser[2]

Normally, μήτε is picked up by a second μήτε but Denniston 1954, 193 mentions the combination οὔτε/οὐδέ as the first category of irregular responsions and thus there is no need to regularize the transmitted text.

2.23 (p. 58.22) ἡ πόλις δ' ὡς μὲν ἔχει τοῦ τείχους, εἴρηκα, φασὶ δ' ὡς **εὐτάκτως {τε καὶ Ἀττικῶς}** τοὺς στενωποὺς τέτμηται κατεσκεύασταί τε οἰκίαις κτέ.

εὐτάκτως **A** (ci. Preller) : ἀτάκτως **E F** ‖ τε καὶ Ἀττικῶς del. Van Wulfften Palthe

As to the choice between εὐτάκτως and ἀτάκτως it may be relevant to point out that excavations in Taxila[101] have revealed that some streets were laid out in rectangles, which pleads in favour of εὐτάκτως. Jacobs, in a note on the passage in his German translation, while defending ἀτάκτως, points out that the street pattern in Athens was far from regular but one may wonder whether Ἀττικῶς (if it is kept in the text; see below) indeed refers to the city of Athens, Attica not being identical with Athens. A priori one would expect a positive qualification of Taxila in Philostratus' account, which gives a very favourable

100 The particle μῶν (the contracted form of μὴ οὖν) can be used similarly; see for instance *VA* 3.34.2 (p. 97.23–24) ἤρετό τε ἐκ τίνων ξυγκεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἡγοῖντο, οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν "στοιχείων." "μῶν" ἔφη "τεττάρων;" *Im.* 1.6 (p. 301.25–27 Kayser = p. 12.14–16 Benndorf-Schenkl) μῶν ἐπήσθου τι τῆς ἀνὰ τὸν κῆπον εὐωδίας ἢ βραδύνει σοι τοῦτο;

101 See Bernard 1996, esp. pp. 505–518.

overall evaluation of king Phraotes and everything related to him. To state that the street plan of Taxila is disorderly would be out of step with the general positive tone of the description of the kingdom of India.

Apart from the archaeological evidence and the general tenor of the passage, the relevance of τε καὶ Ἀττικῶς is hard to perceive and therefore I accept Van Wulfften Palthe's suggestion (1887, 63) that the words result from a variant reading, based on the immediately preceding εὐτάκτως for which, as we have seen, **E F** have ἀτάκτως. Here is Van Wulfften Palthe's discussion of the passage: "Quae verba uncis inclusi delenda ideo mihi videntur, quia aliunde non apparet, quo iure urbes in Attica sitas sine ordine aedificatas esse, auctor Vitae Apollonii contendat. Vitium ex dittographia ortum esse persuasum habeo."[102]

2.24 (p. 59.1) τὸ δὲ ἔδος αὐτὸ **μαρμαρίτιδος** ξύγκειται ξυμβολικὸν τρόπον, ᾧ βάρβαροι πάντες ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ χρῶνται.

μαρμαρίτιδος **A** : μαργαρίτιδος **E F**

Although the word μαρμαρῖτις is very rare (three occurrences apart from our passage, according to the TLG) **A**'s μαρμαρίτιδος is to be preferred to μαργαρίτιδος in **E F** because a statue made of marble-like stone makes more sense than a statue completely made of pearls. If Philostratus had wished to state that the statue was in some places adorned with pearls we might have expected him to state this more clearly. Moreover, if pearls were used (in whatever quantity) we would expect the plural instead of the singular μαργαρίτιδος. Jones translates μαργαρίτιδος as "mother-of-pearl" but this meaning is not attested elsewhere for μαργαρῖτις. The marble-like stone of the statue is contrasted with the red stone of which the palace walls are made. The words ξυμβολικὸν τρόπον refer to the form of the statue and not to the material used for it; cf. 3.58 (p. 109.12–13): τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδος, ὃ συμβολικῶς ἱδρυμένον θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον κτέ. There are four instances of μαργαρίς in Philostratus, all of them occurring at the end of book 3; there is no indication of what these pearls were used for.

I have consulted Dr. Ellen Raven of Leiden University and Prof. Klaus Karttumen of Helsinki University, both specialists on the history and archaeology of ancient India. They regard a statue made partly or completely of pearls as extremely unlikely. According to Karttumen "early Indian sculpture is usually of stone, plaster or stucco". Raven remarks that the use of marble was very rare. This accords well with Philostratus' use of the μαρμαρῖτις, "marble-like stone", instead of μάρμαρος: the stone used for the statue may have looked like marble, possibly because it was painted in light colours. We should also realize that Philostratus' report may well be fictitious here, as it is in many other parts of the work.[103]

102 Van Wulfften Palthe, using Kayser's edition of *VA*, reads ἀτάκτως but his argument also holds when we read εὐτάκτως.

103 For Philostratus' description of Taxila see Bernard 1996, 505–518. Unfortunately, Bernard does

2.25 (p. 59.6) (...) ὀλίγους οἰκέτας καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένους τρεῖς, οἶμαι, ἢ τέτταρας καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον **ἀγασθῆναι** ἢ τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φλεγμαίνοντα κτέ.

ἀγασθῆναι **A E F** : ἀγασθῆναι μᾶλλον Phot.

In later Greek there are numerous instances of ἤ instead of μᾶλλον ἤ; see Radt 2015c. In Philostratus, see for instance *VS* 2.1.7.2 (p. 66.10–11 Stefec) τουτὶ δὲ ἐκ πόνων ἥκειν αὐτῷ ἢ σίτου, where μᾶλλον before ἤ is only found in two late secondary mss. (see Stefec's apparatus; Stefec would have done better by not printing μᾶλλον in his text). The addition of μᾶλλον in Photius' text is an interpolation made by someone who was not familiar with the idiom.

2.26.1 (p. 59.16) "μακάριε τοῦ θησαυροῦ," εἶπεν "εἰ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου **ἀντερύῃ** τοὺς φίλους, ἐξ ὧν ἀναφύεταί σοι πολλά τε καὶ ἀγαθά."

ἀντερύῃ Morel : ἀνταρύη **A E F** : ἀνταρρύη **E**^{2sl} : ἀνθαιρεῖ dubitanter Cobet

The transmitted ἀνταρύη is a *vox nihili* and the correction by a later hand in **E**, ἀνταρρύη, is no improvement. Morel's easy emendation ἀντερύῃ has been accepted by all subsequent editors but Cobet 1859, 173 rejects it because, so he argues, the required sense is "you prefer your friends to silver and gold" and not "you rate your friends as highly as silver and gold".[104] He hesitantly suggests ἀνθαιρεῖ but this word means "to choose A instead of B" which is not the same as "to prefer A to B". In spite of Cobet's doubts, however, Morel's conjecture can be regarded as certain. Obviously, Cobet did not notice that Morel refers to Theognis 77–78 which is the source of our passage: Πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασθαι | ἄξιος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ.

2.26.2 (p. 59.24) πάνυ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ἐχειροῦτο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἡττήθη, ὡς Εὐφράτῃ ποτὲ ἐπιπλήττων **⟨ὡς⟩ μὴ** φιλοσοφοῦντι κτέ.

⟨ὡς⟩ μὴ Jacobs^{2} : μὴ ⟨ὑγιῶς⟩ Van Wulfften Palthe

not say anything about ch. 24, in which the temple of the Sun is described. With regard to the (un)reliability of Philostratus in the description of Taxila Bernard remarks (p. 518): "Savoir si tout est de l'invention de Philostrate ou si Apollonius a lui-même contribué à entretenir le mythe relève de l'analyse littéraire. L'historien, lui, devrait maintenant savoir à quoi s'en tenir. Quel souci de l'information exacte, quel respect du fait historique pouvait-on d'ailleurs attendre d'un auteur qui – on l'a maintes fois souligné – fait rencontrer à son héros un roi de Taxila dénommé Phraotès qui n'a jamais existé dans la dynastie de souverains indo-parthes qui règne alors à Taxila?"

104 Many translators translate ἀντερύῃ as "rate more highly than" (Conybeare), "value above" (Jones), but the word doesn't have this meaning; Morel has *"postponis"*, which is equally impossible. LSJ s.v. give the meaning *"value equally with"*. And the immediate sequel makes clear that Phraotes does not despise gold but makes very intelligent and effective use of it.

Jacobs' addition of ὡς before μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντι is very attractive. The addition of ὡς to ἐπιπλήττων indicates the motive for the rebuke. It is not necessary in cases such as Procl. *in Platonis Parmenidem* p. 834.26 Cousin (= 1.248.26–27 Steel) Ταῦτα ὁ Παρμενίδης ἐπιπλήττων ἀποροῦντι τῷ Σωκράτει δόξειεν ἄν τισιν αὐτὸς ἰδέας ὑποτίθεσθαι πάντων, where it is obvious to anyone that Socrates is actually at a loss. But in our passage it is Apollonius' opinion that Euphrates is not practising philosophy and this cannot be regarded as a fact which is objectively true. For ἐπιπλήττω with ὡς with the participle in Philostratus cf. *VA* 6.12.2 (p. 197.8–9) ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπέπληττεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων ἀγωγίμων πλεύσαντι, *VS* 2.8.31.7 (p. 90.20–21 Stefec) ἐπιπλήττων αὐτῷ ὡς μὴ κτωμένῳ ἀκροατῶν εὔνοιαν. See further e.g. D.S. 10.28.2 καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἐπιπλήξας ὡς ἱεροσύλοις ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν; D.Chr. 55.19 ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιπλήττοντα τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ὡς ἁμαρτόντι; Gal. 1.97.5 Kühn ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐπιπλήττουσιν ὡς μάτην τὰ τοιαῦτα διοριζομένοις; Alex.Aphr. *De fato* p. 189.3 Bruns τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιτιμῶντες καὶ ἐπιπλήττοντές τισιν ὡς οὐ τὰ προσήκοντα πράττουσιν; Origenes *Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei* 12.5.49 ἐπιπλήσσει αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐ νοοῦσιν οὐδὲ μεμνημένοις ἄρτων. In view of these parallel passages I have accepted Jacobs' conjecture. The omission of ὡς may have been caused by the fact that ὡς is also found a few words before.

2.27.1 (p. 60.14) (...) αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου χειρὸς καὶ κελεύσας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἑρμηνέα "ἆρ' ἂν" **ἔφη** "ποιήσαιό με συμπότην;" **ἤρετο αὐτὸν** φωνῇ Ἑλλάδι.

ἤρετο αὐτὸν **A E F** : ἤρετο δ' αὐτὸν Crac.VIII.16.2 (Kayser$^{1/2}$) : ἤρετο ⟨γὰρ⟩ αὐτὸν Reiske^{2}

The double *inquit* formula ἔφη ... ἤρετο αὐτόν troubled (a predecessor of) the scribe of Crac.VIII.16.2 and Reiske; the insertion of the particle δ' or γάρ is an attempt to smooth out the syntax but the transmitted text is perfectly acceptable. A parallel for our passage is found in 3.23.1 (p. 88.20–21) ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον "σὺ δ' ἂν εἴποις" ἔφη "τὸ πρῶτον σῶμα καὶ ὅστις πρὸ τοῦ νῦν ἦσθα;", where there is no particle accompanying ἔφη. See also, e.g., 4.40.3 (p. 141.5–6) "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν "ἐμὴ γὰρ" ἔφη "αὕτη ἀρχή".

2.27.1 (p. 60.17) "ἔδεισα" ἔφη "θρασὺς δόξαι μὴ γινώσκων ἐμαυτόν, μηδ' ὅτι βάρβαρον εἶναί **μ' ἐδόκει** τῇ Τύχῃ κτέ."

μ' ἐδόκει scripsi praeeunte Reiske^{1} (με ⟨ἐ⟩δόκει) : με δοκεῖ **A E F**

Phraotes states that he did not speak Greek in the presence of the interpreter because he did not want to make the impression that "he did not know his place". He expresses this thought twice, first by a variation of the Delphic maxim "know thyself" and then by stating that it is the will of Fate that he should be a barbarian. The mss. have ὅτι βάρβαρον εἶναί με δοκεῖ τῇ τύχῃ which means that Fate is continuously considering that Phraotes should be a barbarian. But it is much more in line with Greek opinions on Fate that a decision which has once been taken persists forever (see for instance the account in the Myth of Er in book 10 of Plato's *Republic*). Therefore I believe that Reiske is right in

reading the imperfect ἐδόκει. If we read μ' ἐδόκει instead of the mss. reading με δοκεῖ there is only a change of word division. I have found a few parallels for the phrase ἐδόκει τῇ Τύχῃ; see for instance Lib. *Decl.* 9.1.6 Ἐποιησάμην, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτον ἐκ γυναικὸς ἧς ἐδόκει τῇ Τύχῃ; Cyr. Alex. *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate* 68.457.53–54 Migne Ἐδόκει που τάχα τῇ Τύχῃ. I have found one case of δοκεῖ τῇ Τύχῃ, Ach.Tat. 5.17.3 "Ελέησόν με," ἔφη, "δέσποινα, γυνὴ γυναῖκα, ἐλευθέραν μέν, ὡς ἔφυν, δούλην δὲ νῦν, ὡς δοκεῖ τῇ Τύχῃ": in this passage ὡς δοκεῖ τῇ Τύχῃ refers to the here and now in contrast to the past.[105] As to the imperfect ἐδόκει with this meaning: usually one finds the aorist ἔδοξε but I have found a few instances of (τῇ) βούλῃ ἐδόκει while (τῇ) βούλῃ ἔδοξε is regular; see for instance D.H. 6.48.1, D.C. 56.42.3, Zos. 4.41.2.

2.27.2 (p. 61.3) τουτὶ δὲ νενόμισται Ἰνδοῖς, ἐπειδὰν **ἐς βασιλέως** πίνωσιν.

ἐς βασιλέως **A** : ἐς τοῦ βασιλέως **E F** : ἐν βασιλέως $\mathbf{A}^{1sl}$: ἐν τοῦ βασιλέως Richards (Phillimore falso perhibet Richards ἐν ⟨τῷ⟩ βασιλέως coniecisse)

There are two problems here: the choice between ἐς and ἐν and the presence or absence of the article. As to the first problem, the use of ἐς instead of ἐν is abundantly attested in Philostratus (and other authors, such as Aelian): see Schmid 4.60–61. The addition of ἐν above the line in **A** is in all probability a conjecture (repeated by Richards). As to the second problem, in the phrases ἐν or ἐς followed by the genitive, "in/to the house of X", the article is usually absent in Philostratus. Among the instances quoted by Schmid 4.56 are such cases as *VA* 1.11.2 (p. 11.4) τὸν ἥκοντα ἐς θεοῦ, 3.38.1 (p. 99.22–23) ἐς διδασκάλου βαδίσαι and 4.21.2 (p. 124.17) ἐς Ἀγραύλου φοιτῶντες. For the absence of the article in ἐν/ἐς βασιλέως see Procop. *Bell.* 7.32.47 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴσω πάντες ἐν βασιλέως ἐγένοντο. And thus I accept **A**'s ἐς βασιλέως.

2.28.2 (p. 61.22) παῖς γάρ τις, ὥσπερ τῶν ὀρχηστρίδων, ἀνερριπτεῖτο κούφως συναφιεμένου αὐτῷ βέλους ἐς τὸ ἄνω, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς γένοιτο, ἐκυβίστα ὁ παῖς ὑπεραίρων ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βέλους, καὶ **ἁμαρτών τι** τοῦ κυβιστᾶν ἕτοιμα ἦν βεβλῆσθαι.

ἁμαρτών τι scripsi : ἁμαρτῶντι **A E** : ἁμαρτόντι **F**

In itself the reading of **F**, which is found in all editions, is impeccable. But the fact that both **A** and **E** have the anomalous form ἁμαρτῶντι[106] shows that the authentic reading must have been ἁμαρτών τι. This results in a sentence which is not in accordance with the rules of regular syntax but which is typical for Philostratus. Schmid 4.113–115

105 I have found four cases of ἔδοξε τῇ Τύχῃ: Lib. *Decl.* 24.2.7; Lib. *Ep.* 739.1; Chor. 28.1.4; Theodorus Prodromus *Rhodanthe et Dosicles* 9.54.

106 The TLG gives seven instances of ἁμαρτωντ- in texts of the fourth and fifth centuries AD and nine instances of a later date. At *VA* 4.27 (p. 130.5) **E** has ἁμαρτῶντας for ἁμαρτάνοντας. However, we cannot exclude that the anomalous ἁμαρτωντ- already occurred in the third century AD (or even earlier) but that it was corrected in our editions.

treats the phenomenon under the heading "absolute nominative". On p. 114 he lists 16 cases in *VA* alone where Philostratus has a nominative participle instead of a genitive absolute participle or a *participium coniunctum* in another case. See for instance 2.31.1 (p. 63.20–21) καταλειφθεὶς γὰρ κομιδῇ νέος ἐπίτροποι μὲν αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο δύο τῶν ξυγγενῶν. Moreover, with the reading ἁμαρτών τι the adverbial τι brings out the dangerous element of the show more explicitly: "if he *just* missed his leap".

2.29.1 (p. 62.2) οὐ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους γε, οἶμαι, **ἀναφέρεις**, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναί τινας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου.

ἀναφέρεις Eus. : ἀναφέρειν **A E F**

Of the 74 occurrences of οἶμαι in *VA* the large majority is used parenthetically. There are only ten cases where οἶμαι is used as a main verb, e.g. 3.24.3 (p. 90.13), 7.14.11 (p. 235.2). Therefore I think that Eusebius' ἀναφέρεις is to be preferred to ἀναφέρειν of the mss. Moreover, with the infinitive ἀναφέρειν we would expect the subject accusative σε.

2.29.2 (p. 62.11) καὶ νὴ Δί', ὥσπερ οἱ λῃσταὶ τρυφῶσιν εἰδότες ὅτι **⟨οὐχ⟩** ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κεῖνται, οὕτω κἀκείνους φασὶ γαστρί τε διδόναι καὶ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ ἀμπεχόνῃ λεπτῇ.

⟨οὐχ⟩ addidi

In this chapter Phraotes compares pirates to philosophers. Most philosophers, so he argues, rob others of their philosopher's cloak and wear this ill-fitting garment as if it really belongs to them. But the comparison does not stop here. Just as pirates live in luxury εἰδότες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κεῖνται, "knowing that they are liable to the law" (Jones),[107] so the would-be philosophers indulge in gluttony, sex and fine clothing. The reason for their doing so, according to Phraotes, is that there are no laws against those who falsely claim to be philosophers. The comparison between pirates and philosophers is that they both live in luxury: this is clear enough. But the reasons for their doing so are far from clear: concerning the pirates it is stated that they are liable to the law whereas concerning the philosophers it is stated that there is no law at all to restrain them. And thus what is stated concerning the pirates is exactly the opposite of what is stated about the philosophers so that the comparison breaks down.

The transmitted ὥσπερ οἱ λῃσταὶ τρυφῶσιν εἰδότες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κεῖνται is interpreted as "pirates live in luxury because they know that sooner or later they will be punished by the law", that is, they are dancing on a volcano and they know it. Thus Jacobs[6] ex-

107 I have toyed with the possibility that ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κεῖνται means "they find themselves below the reach of the law", as in our expression "below the radar", but this is too far-fetched. For ὑπό with the dative in the meaning "subjected to" cf. 1.20.3 (p. 21.12–13): … ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος διεπορεύθη βάρβαρα ἔθνη καὶ λῃστρικά, οὐδ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πω ὄντα.

plains the phrase as, "Daß ihnen also kein langer Genuß der Güter des Lebens erstattet ist." But it is very far-fetched to impose this meaning on the transmitted text.

Correspondence between the two parts of the comparison can be restored by adding οὐχ before ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κεῖνται. Pirates withdraw from the world of existing laws so that in practice they are not prevented by laws from stuffing themselves with (robbed) food. Pseudo-philosophers live in a world where laws are valid but they can lay hold of what does not belong to them because there is no specific law against this specific type of robbery. Thus both pirates and pseudo-philosophers can live their lives of luxury without any regard for the law: the pirates because they are literally outlaws and the pseudo-philosophers because there is no law at all against their crime. The robbery of the pseudo-philosophers is to be blamed on human society which should make laws in order to prevent this but fails to do so. So, while the responsibility for robbery by pirates lies with the pirates themselves, the responsibility for the robbery by pseudo-philosophers lies with the lawmakers.

2.29.2 (p. 62.14–15) νόμοι ὑμῖν, οἶμαι, εἰσίν, εἰ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα παραφθείροι τις, ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτόν, καὶ παιδίον εἴ τις **παρεγγράφοι{το}**, **{ἢ}** οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποβαλλομένους ἢ παραφθείροντας οὐδείς, οἶμαι, νόμος παρ' ὑμῖν ἴσχει, οὐδὲ ἀρχή τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τέτακται.

παρεγγράφοι{το} Kayser[2] : παρεγγράψοιτο **A E** : παραγράψοιτο **F** : παρεγγράφοιτο Kayser[1] : παρεγγράψαι{το} Cobet ‖ {ἢ} del. Reiske[1]

There are two problems with the transmitted παρεγγράψοιτο/παραγράψοιτο: the middle voice and the future optative (**F**'s παραγρ- is obviously inferior to παρεγγρ- in **A** and **E**). Cobet 1859, 158 points out that παρεγγράφειν and ἐγγράφειν are always in the active voice; see *VA* 8.30.1 (p. 294.22) καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγγράψαι. A TLG search confirms Cobet's statement. So at any rate -το must be deleted. But what to do with the rest of the word? The future optative παρεγγράψοι is flatly impossible here so that we have to choose between παρεγγράφοι (Kayser) and παρεγγράψαι (Cobet). Cobet maintains that the aorist is obligatory here and therefore he also changes the preceding παραφθείροι into παραφθείραι: "si quis nummos *adultaverit*, non *adulteret*." This seems to be too rigid; moreover, there is only one case of the optative of the aorist in -σαι, namely 1.34.2 (p. 34.5) ἀποχρήσαι, the regular ending being -σειε (see Schmid 4.26). Therefore I have adopted Kayser's παρεγγράφοι although it remains a riddle why so much has gone wrong with this word in the course of the transmission.

The second problem in this sentence concerns the transmitted ἤ. Phraotes mentions two crimes which are punished severely by the Greeks, "counterfeiting money, or entering a son illegally as a citizen" (Jones). The punishment for counterfeiting money is the death penalty. In the transmitted text the same penalty awaits those who enter their sons illegally as citizens, with the addition of ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ. This phrase is interpreted by most scholars as "or there is some penalty, I know not what" (Conybeare). With

regard to content it is strange to first mention a specific penalty for a specific crime and then to state that one doesn't know which penalty stands for that specific crime. I guess that this was realized by Jacobs and Jones, who interpret the phrase as "oder [der] sonst, ich weiß nicht was dieser Art thut", "and whatever you like in addition". But this interpretation breaks down on the observation that this would require the plural ἐπὶ τούτοις instead of the transmitted singular ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

With regard to the structure of the passage one would expect something rather like εἰ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα παραφθείροι τις καὶ παιδίον εἴ τις παρεγγράφοι, ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτόν, in order to express that both crimes can be punished by death. Further, the proleptic position of παιδίον before the εἰ-clause (a Theme construction) suggests that a new point is being introduced which makes it improbable that the death penalty, mentioned for counterfeiting money, pertains to this crime as well. Finally, the plural νόμοι might plead in favour of two different crimes with two different penalties.

All problems are solved by Reiske's deletion of ἤ which I have accordingly accepted. But this confronts us with a new problem. As stated in the first part of this note, the two final letters -το of the transmitted παρεγγράψοιτο cannot stand. Together with Reiske's deletion of ἤ this results into three consecutive letters which must be deleted: παρεγγράψοι{το ἤ}. This makes one suspect that some corrupted word is lurking behind τοη; one might think of που.

2.30.1 (p. 62.21) χρὴ τὸν νέον (...) ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὕφασιν ποταμὸν ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας, **οὓς** σὺ ὥρμηκας κτέ.

οὓς] οἷς **A**^{1sl} : ⟨ἐφ'⟩ οὓς Reiske^{2} : ⟨ἐς⟩ οὓς Jackson

The transmitted reading οὕς is perfectly acceptable. In cases where a noun preceded by a preposition is followed by a relative with the same reference the preposition can be either repeated or omitted. See KG 1.550–551 and Schmid 4.96–97, who refers to *Her*. 47.5 (p. 61.1 De Lannoy) ἐς αὐγὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλας, ὅσας ἡ ἶρις.

2.30.2 (p. 63.8) ἐπειδὰν γὰρ τελευτήσῃ ὁ Ἰνδός, φοιτᾷ ἐπὶ **θύραις** αὐτοῦ μία ἀρχὴ τεταγμένη ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναγράφειν αὐτόν κτέ.

θύραις **A E** : θύρας **F** (probat Reiske^{2})

In the combination φοιτᾶν ἐπί one expects the accusative to express motion. But the fact that **A** and **E** have the dative θύραις shows that this must have been the reading of the archetype. In Philostratus, there are four other passages where φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ θύρα(ι)ς occurs. In *VA* 7.39.1 (p. 254.10), where Kayser prints θύρας, all mss. have θύραις; in 8.7.6 (p. 264.10) and 8.7.33 (p. 275.4) all mss. have θύρας. In *VS* 2.1.11.1 (p. 70.26 Stefec) βVbM have θύραις (β represents one family of the mss. of *VS*; VbM are a branch of the α-family; see Stefec 2010 (stemma at p. 85). Thus in two passages the whole tradition has the accusative, in three passages the archetype must have had the dative. Conversely

A E FQ have ἐπὶ θύρας εἶναι in 7.31.1 (p. 247.22) (here the first hand in **A** added θύραις above the line, which is in all probability a conjecture). This cannot be coincidental and therefore I believe we have to accept that Philostratus wavered between the two cases. — Schmid 4.60–61 lists numerous passages where we find expressions for "whither" instead of "where" and vice versa. The two types of expression can even be combined in one phrase, e.g. 2.36.2 (p. 68.4) ἄλλοσέ ποι μᾶλλον εἶναι ἢ οὗπέρ εἰσιν δοκοῦσιν (where Van Wulffen Palthe superfluously conjectures οἷπερ for οὗπερ). We have also seen that ἐς with the accusative can be used instead of ἐν with the dative: see note on 2.27.2 (p. 61.3).

At 1.13.2 (p. 13.1) I follow the mss. who have ἐφ' ἑταίραις ἐκώμαζεν, where Valckenaer conjectures ἑταίρας. At 8.7.21 (p. 269.21) I have printed ἥκειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ with **A**^{1pc} **E FQ**, against αὐτό of **A**^{ac1}**A**^{1sl}**S** and αὐτόν of **A**^{1sl}**S**^{1sl} (ci. Reiske^{1}).

2.31.1 (p. 63.19) Ἐγὼ **πάππου μὲν** βασιλέως ἐγενόμην, ὃς ἦν μοι ὁμώνυμος, πατρὸς δὲ ἰδιώτου.

πάππου μὲν **A** : μὲν πάππου **E F**

With **A**'s word order the contrast is between πάππου μέν and πατρὸς δέ which is exactly what we expect. The corruption in **E F** is easily explained because μέν normally takes up the second position in a sentence. Here ἐγώ is in Theme position so that after all μέν is in its usual position within the clause.

2.31.1 (p. 63.26) δείσαντες οὖν οἱ ξυγγενεῖς **ἐπὶ** τῷ πατρὶ μήπω ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότι πέμπουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὕφασιν παρὰ τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλέα.

ἐπὶ **A E** : περὶ **F**

Verbs of fearing are usually accompanied by the prepositions ἀμφί, περί and ὑπέρ (see LSJ s.v. δείδω 2); for Philostratus see *VA* 3.31.2 (p. 95.22), 4.24.3 (p. 127.5), 4.37.1 (p. 137.3), *VS* 1.25.71.6 (p. 49.17 Stefec), 2.32.91.1 (p. 132.20 Stefec) (everywhere περί). However, I have found some parallels for ἐπί with the dative in Appian: *Mith.* 512 ἕως ὁ μὲν Ἀρταφέρνης καὶ Δαρεῖος (...) δείσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ πυρί, παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς ἄγεσθαι; *BC* 1.7.58 οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάριον (...) καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς περιοδεύουσι δείσαντες; 3.12.88 δείσας ἐπὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ὁ Καῖσαρ προύπεμπε κρύφα τοὺς ἐκφοβήσοντας; 5.4.31 Ἀγρίππας δέ, φίλτατος Καίσαρι, δείσας ἐπὶ τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ μὴ κυκλωθείη. See also [Lucianus] *Asin.* 44 ὁ δὲ δείσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶχε κείμενον ἀπολείπει. **F**'s περί probably is a deliberate normalizing correction.

2.32.2 (p. 65.6) ἐχώρουν δὴ **ξυντείνας** καὶ βοῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, δι' ὧν ἔστειχον κτέ.

ξυντείνας **A E F** : ξυντείνων **A**^{1sl}

The meaning of the participle is clear: "straining all my powers". In other authors we find both the present and the aorist participle accompanying a verb of going. Some instances of the present participle: Ph. *de Abr*. 62 ἐπέσπευδε συντείνων, 233 συντείνων οὖν ἔσπευδε μηδὲν τάχους ἀνιείς, *de vita Mosis* 1.168 οὐδὲν τάχους ἀνεὶς ἐπεξέθει καὶ συντείνων ἔσπευδε. Some instances of the aorist participle: Gal. 4.56.18–19 Kühn ἵτω δὴ συντείνας ἑαυτὸν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐπὶ τὰ λείποντα, 10.671.17 Kühn καὶ συντείνας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠπείγετο; Longus 3.29.1 καὶ συντείνας σοβεῖ παρὰ τὸν Δρύαντα. In *VA* the aorist participle ξυντείνας is also found at 4.17 (p. 121.9) ἀνήει ξυντείνας, without variant readings in the mss. Therefore I have decided to print ξυντείνας in this passage as well. The variant reading ξυντείνων may have resulted from *Echoschreibung* of βοῶν which immediately follows.

2.32.2 (p. 65.13) (...) τὸν δὲ εἴσω κηφῆνα περὶ τὸ τεῖχος **εἶλξαν** καίτοι ἐμοῦ παραιτουμένου μὴ τοιῷδε τρόπῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν.

τὸν δὲ ἔσω (sic) κηφῆνα περὶ τὸ τεῖχος εἵλξαν Pierson : τὸν δὲ εἴσω κηφῆνα περὶ τὸ τεῖχος εἵρξαν (sic) **A F** : τὸν δὲ εἴσω κηφῆνα περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἧρξαν (sic) **E** : τὸν δὲ ἔσω κηφῆνα περιστάντες τὸ τεῖχος εἵρξαν Reiske[1] : τὸν δ' εἴσω κηφῆνα περιστάντες τὸ τεῖχος εἵρξαν ⟨...⟩ Reiske[2], qui lacunam e.g. ita explet ζῶντα ὑποτύφειν (vel κατακάειν) ἀπειλοῦντες : περὶ δὲ τὸν ἔσω κηφῆνα τὸ τεῖχος εἵρξαν Kayser[1App] (πέριξ pro περὶ Kayser[1Adn]) : τὸν δὲ ἔσω κηφῆνα περιτειχισάμενοι εἵρξαν vel τὸν δὲ ἔσω κηφῆνα περι⟨χώσαντες⟩ τὸ τεῖχος εἵρξαν Scheibe : τὸν δ' ἔσω κηφῆνα περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἧγξαν Westermann : τὸν δὲ ἔσω κηφῆνα πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος ἔκλησαν Kayser[2] : τὸν δὲ ἔσω κηφῆνα ⟨...⟩ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος εἵρξαν Schenkl[2], qui lacunam exempli gratia voce καπνιοῦντες explet

It is evident that the transmitted reading does not give an acceptable meaning. The simplest solution is the one proposed by Pierson: it consists in the change of only one letter, εἵρξαν > εἵλξαν, "they dragged him around the city-wall". Kayser[1], in his note (p. 182), objects that this is not in accordance with 2.32.2 (p. 65.5–6) τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πολιορκεῖσθαι τούτοις. But in fact this very passage pleads against Kayser's interpretation. According to Kayser the inhabitants locked up the usurper in the palace on the arrival of the legal king Phraotes and caused his death by starving (Scheibe 1847, 432 shares this opinion) but from 2.32.2 (p. 65.5–6) it becomes clear that the usurper was already locked up in his palace: being besieged is more or less equivalent to being locked up. The way the citizens kill their king according to Pierson's conjecture, namely by dragging him around the city, is much more brutal than death by starvation and therefore much more likely to evoke Phraotes' protests. To my mind Pierson's εἵλξαν is palmary.

2.33.1 (p. 65.19) οὐ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ποτὲ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι καὶ ἀναχθέντες αὐτῷ περί **γε** οὐρανοῦ ἐφιλοσόφησαν;

γε scripsi: τε **A E** : τοῦ **F**

In phrases meaning "to speak about heaven" both περὶ οὐρανοῦ and περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ are found. Some instances of περὶ οὐρανοῦ: Arist. *Cael*. 280a32 Πρὸς οὓς φυσικῶς μὲν περὶ οὐρανοῦ μόνον εἴρηται; Plu. 1114b10 καὶ γὰρ περὶ γῆς εἴρηκε πολλὰ καὶ περὶ οὐρανοῦ

καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρων καὶ γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀφήγηται; D.Chr. 32.25 καὶ γὰρ ἔν τι τῶν χρησίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσειεν ἢ περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς εἰ λέγοιμι. Some instances of περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ: Thphl.Ant. *ad Autolycum* 2.13 καὶ γὰρ εἴρηκεν περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕτερος προφήτης ὀνόματι Ἡσαΐας; ps. Just. Martyr *Confutatio dogmatorum quorundam Aristotelicorum* 127E Morel Πῶς οὖν ἄν τις πιστεύσειε τῷ ἀμφότερα λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Thus in itself **F**'s τοῦ is acceptable but even so I don't believe that it represents the authentic text. The reading of **A** and **E**, τε, must have been the reading of the archetype. To my mind, τε is a corruption of γε. These two words are constantly confused in our mss.; in our passage, τε cannot possibly be correct. **F**'s τοῦ is in all probability a conjecture, introduced in order to get rid of the impossible τε. The collocation περί γε occurs frequently. In this place it serves to draw attention to the fact that the Wise Men discussed the subject of heaven with Alexander, which is a new subject after Phraotes' account of the way in which he regained his kingdom.

2.33.2 (p. 66.11) αὐτὸς γὰρ πεποίηται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁρίζων τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰ ὄρη στήλας ποιούμενος τόν τε Ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὰ **ἔξω** ἐπισπώμενος, ὅθεν δηλοῦται μὴ τὸν Θηβαῖον Ἡρακλέα, τὸν δὲ Αἰγύπτιον ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὁριστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς γῆς.

ἔξω **A E F** : ἔσω Bentley

Bentley's conjecture has been met with general approval but I think that the transmitted text should be kept. With Bentley's ἔσω we are supposed to understand that Hercules draws the Ocean into the Pillars but what is the sense of this action? The Mediterranean was already there so why is it necessary to pull the Ocean into the Mediterranean? This would only cause a flood. Jones' translation, "admitting the Ocean between them", does not do justice to ἐπισπώμενος which is much stronger than just admitting. Olearius explains the text with the mss. reading ἔξω as follows: "τὰ ἔξω vocat plagam ultra columnas Herculis, quo submovendum mare fuit, ut columnae illae in fundo maris constitui possent." This may be a strange image but it is easier to accept than Hercules' drawing the Ocean inside the Pillars. And thus the transmitted reading must be accepted.

2.35.1 (p. 66.24) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπεφαίνετο, αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον, **ᾧ ἐκάθευδον** οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον κτέ.

ᾧ ἐκάθευδον **A E F** : "aut οὗ leg. cum Oleario aut ⟨ἐν⟩ ᾧ ἐκάθευδον (hoc et Westermann Jones) aut ᾧ ⟨ἐν⟩εκάθευδον (hoc et Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T})" Reiske^{2}

The transmitted text is sound: see the note on 2.30.1 (p. 62.21). Because the prepositions εἰς and ἐν are so closely related that they can even be interchanged (see note on 2.27.2 [p. 61.3]) the antecedent ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον suffices to mentally supplement ἐν to the relative pronoun ᾧ.

2.35.1 (p. 66.25) (...) καὶ τὸν σκίμποδα ἐπιψηλαφήσας προσεῖπε τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὅ τι **ἐνεθυμεῖτο**.

ἐνεθυμεῖτο **A E F** : ἐνθυμοῖτο Kayser$^{1/2}$

In Classical Attic Greek we would expect ἐνθυμεῖται or ἐνθυμοῖτο but the corruption of either of these forms into ἐνεθυμεῖτο is so hard to account for that I think we have to accept the imperfect here. See also, e.g., 3.16.4 (p. 84.8) ᾔδει (εἰδείη Cobet), 7.10.1 (p. 226.25) ὡρμήκει **A E FQ** (ὡρμήκοι Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}). It may even be possible to take ἐνεθυμεῖτο as a "real" imperfect, reporting in indirect speech the king's direct question to Apollonius, "what have you been thinking all night?"

2.35.1 (p. 66.28) "καθεύδειν μέν," ἔφη "λεπτὸν δὲ ὕπνον, ὅνπερ ἄκροις **αὐτῶν** τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφιζάνειν φῶμεν, οὐ τῷ νῷ."

αὐτῶν] ἄν Jacobs^{3}

The subjunctive without ἄν in an auxiliary clause is strange; Jacobs conjectured ἄν for αὐτῶν in order to remedy this. But the generalizing subjunctive is quite out of place in a clause which deals with a specific phenomenon, namely the sleep of teetotalers. The transmitted text can stand: the subjunctive must be interpreted as adhortative. The grammars do not mention the use of the adhortative subjunctive in auxiliary clauses but it is paralleled by the well-documented use of the imperative in auxiliary clauses (for which see KG 1.238–239); as Goodwin 1889, §255 remarks, "The want of a first person in the imperative is supplied by the first person of the subjunctive." In our passage, the adhortative subjunctive is used to justify the bold expression ἄκροις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφιζάνειν, which is coined by analogy to the well-known expression ἄκρῳ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἅπτειν; see e.g. Lucianus *Demon.* 4 καὶ τὰς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ προαιρέσεις οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγον οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἄκρῳ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἁψάμενος ἠπίστατο. In the majority of the translations the subjunctive φῶμεν is translated as if it were an indicative; the exceptions are Jacobs and Mumprecht who have "von dem wir sagen müssen".

2.35.1 (p. 67.1) οἱ γοῦν μεμηνότες οὐδὲ καθεύδειν δύνανται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ πήδησιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα **ᾀττούσης** τῆς ἐννοίας γοργότερόν τε ἀναβλέπουσι καὶ ἀναιδέστερον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄυπνοι τῶν δρακόντων.

ᾀττούσης Reiske$^{1/2}$: ἀπιούσης **A E F**

The transmitted ἀπιούσης is usually interpreted as "divertente" (Olearius), "abschweifen" (Jacobs), "rove" (Jones), "springen" (Mooij) but although this is what we need here ἄπειμι cannot bear this meaning. ἄπειμι is "to go away, depart". In our passage, ἄπειμι could only be used to express that the mind of the madman leaves his body but that is not what Apollonius wishes to state. Reiske's palmary ᾀττούσης is exactly the right word. From Homer on the verb can be used for meaning mental activity: *Il.* 15.80–82 ὡς δ'

ὅτ' ἂν ἀΐξῃ νόος ἀνέρος, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ πολλὴν | γαῖαν ἐληλουθὼς φρεσὶ πευκαλίῃσι νοήσῃ | "ἔνθ' εἴην ἢ ἔνθα"; it may well have been the model for Philostratus' phrase. In our passage the metaphor ἀττούσης is a perfect companion to πήδησιν: the two metaphors express the restlessness and capriciousness of the madman's thoughts. The corruption is a classic instance of a majuscule error: ΑΙΤΤΟΥΣΗΣ > ΑΠΙΟΥΣΗΣ.

2.35.2 (p. 67.4) "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν "σαφῶς ἡρμήνευται τὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔργον καὶ **ἄττα δηλεῖται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους**, σκεψώμεθα κτέ."

ἄττα δηλεῖται scripsi praeeunte Jackson (ἄττα δηλεῖται ⟨αὐτό⟩) : ἄττα δηλοῦται **A E F** : ἄττα δηλοῖ Kayser^{1App} : ἄττα δηλοῦται ⟨αὐτῷ⟩ Kayser^{2} : καθ' ἄττα ζηλοῦται Madvig : corruptum censent Reiske^{1} Phillimore ‖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους **F** : τοῖς ἀνθρώποις **A E**

"ἄττα δηλοῦται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις non intelligo", Reiske^{1} comments and one cannot but agree. The phrase can only mean "what things are revealed to humans" (Jones) but there has been no mention at all of what may be revealed to man during sleep. What is more, even if we were to accept this meaning the Greek is unsatisfactory: we either need the active δηλοῖ (Kayser^{1App}) or an agent should be supplied (αὐτῷ Kayser^{2}). Madvig's καθ' ἄττα ζηλοῦται is ingenious ("for what reasons it is desired by men") but it suffers from the same defect as the transmitted reading because it has not been explained at all why this should be the case. Phillimore, who regards δηλοῦται as corrupt, translates "and what destroys a man's sleep" which fits the context perfectly but which cannot be extracted from the transmitted text. Jackson, who may or may not have read Phillimore's translation, conjectures δηλεῖται αὐτό. Jackson's αὐτό is based on Kayser's αὐτῷ, which was added conjecturally and which I don't accept. But δηλεῖται hits the mark. Philostratus is fond of using poetic words (see Schmid 4.266–337) and the very rareness of the word in later literature may have caused the corruption into the more familiar δηλοῦται. When we dismiss Jackson's αὐτό we need another object to δηλεῖται. This is supplied by the accusative τοὺς ἀνθρώπους in **F**, for which **A** and **E** have the dative τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. The corruption was almost inevitable once the change of δηλεῖται into δηλοῦται had taken place and it may well have occurred in **A** and **E** independently.

2.36.2 (p. 68.4) ἔστι δὲ καὶ φάρμακα ὕπνου μεμηχανημένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὧν πιόντες τε καὶ ἀλειψάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἐκτείναντες αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἀποθανόντες, ὅθεν μετά τινος λήθης ἀνίστανται καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποι **μᾶλλον εἶναι ἢ οὗπέρ εἰσι δοκοῦσιν**.

μᾶλλον εἶναι ἢ οὗπέρ εἰσι δοκοῦσιν Jackson : μᾶλλόν εἰσιν ἢ οὗπερ εἶναι δοκοῦσιν **A E F**

People who have used soporifics wake up in a state of forgetfulness and they don't know where they are, so Apollonius argues. The transmitted text states that "they are at some other place than the very spot where they believe they are". This is the opposite of what we expect, namely that they believe they are somewhere else than the very spot where they are; the suffix περ in οὗπερ does not tally with the vague state of mind they find

themselves in. Some translators realized this, witness translations as "they imagine that they are anywhere rather than where they are" (Conybeare) and "het gevoel dat ze ergens anders zijn dan waar ze zijn" (Mooij). Jackson made the necessary step (which may well be based on Conybeare's translation) by transposing εἶναι and εἰσι. The corruption is easily explained as an attempt to remove the hyperbaton εἶναι ... δοκοῦσιν.

2.36.3 (p. 68.15) οὐ γὰρ ἐξωθεῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπνος ὥσπερ δεσπότης βρίσας εἰς τὸν αὐχένα δεδουλωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ὀρθοὶ φαίνονται, **καταδαρθέντες** δὲ καθαρᾷ τῇ ψυχῇ δέχονται τὸν ὕπνον κτέ.

καταδαρθέντες **A E F** : καταδαρθόντες Cobet (et Jackson)

Cobet 1859, 121 remarks that the regular aorist for καταδαρθάνω is κατέδαρθον which has the participle καταδαρθών, not καταδαρθείς. His conjecture καταδαρθόντες was also suggested by Jackson; it is accepted by Jones.

Because there are many places where Philostratus' morphology deviates from Classical Greek I accept the transmitted irregular καταδαρθέντες here. Incidentally, one might wonder whether the form really is a vulgarism. In Ar. *Pl.* 300 the mss. have καταδαρθέντα, for which Porson conjectured καταδαρθόντα. In A.R. 2.1227 Vian reads κατέδαρθεν with the majority of the mss.; Fränkel reads κατέδαρθον with ms. E. In [Lucianus] *Philopatr.* 21 Macleod prints καταδαρθέντες; there is a variant reading καταδραθέντες.

2.36.3 (p. 68.16) (...) οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπραγιῶν ἀνακουφιζόμενοι **οὔτ' αὖ** ὑπὸ κακοπραγίας τινὸς ἐκθρώσκοντες.

οὔτ' αὖ Scheibe : αὐτοὶ οὔτε **A E F** : {αὐτοὶ} οὔτε Kayser^{1App} : αὐτοῦ οὔτε Kayser^{2}

Kayser rightly saw that αὐτοί cannot be kept. In the 1844 edition he tentatively suggested to delete it; in the 1870 edition he replaced it by αὐτοῦ. Although Jones accepts this conjecture I agree with Jackson that αὐτοῦ will not do either. Scheibe's οὔτ' αὖ is exactly what we need.

2.37.1 (p. 68.23) οἱ γοῦν ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν ὄψεων, οὓς ὀνειροπόλους οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν, οὐδ' ἂν **ὑποκρινοῦνται** ὄψιν οὐδεμίαν μὴ πρότερον ἐρόμενοι τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ εἶδεν.

ὑποκρινοῦνται scripsi : ὑποκρίνωνται **A E** : ὑποκρίναιντο **F** : ὑποκρίνοιντο Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}

The older editions have **F**'s ὑποκρίναιντο but Kayser suggested ὑποκρίνοιντο in the apparatus of the 1844 edition and printed it in the text of his 1870 edition. However, it can be regarded as certain that the archetype had ὑποκρίνωνται because it is virtually excluded that the same corruption occurred in **A** and **E** independently.

The subjunctive with ἄν in the apodosis is frequently found in Homer; see KG 1.218–219, Goodwin 1889, §§201, 235, 285, 452. According to Goodwin 1889, §201 it

"forms a future potential expression, nearly equivalent to the future indicative with κέ or ἄν, and sometimes approaching the optative with κέ or ἄν." Jannaris 1897, 556–557 quotes a number of instances from Polybius (second century BC) onward. But in many of these cases Jannaris' report rests on old and unreliable editions. When these are discarded we have the following instances: Plb. 11.5.6 καὶ κυριεύσαντες μὲν αὐτοὶ πόλεως οὔτ' ἂν ὑβρίζειν ὑπομείνητε (ὑπομείναιτε Bekker) τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὔτ' ἐμπιπράναι τὰς πόλεις, Demetr. *Eloc.* 21.5 καὶ ἀπολήξαντες μόλις ἂν ἐννοηθῶμεν (ἐννοηθεῖμεν Spengel) κατὰ τὸ τέλος, D.H. 6.60.2 οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὗτος ὀλιγαρχίαν ὄνομα θῆται τῇ τῶν κρατίστων ἡγεμονίᾳ, 7.60.2 (in a relative clause) οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαιώσωσιν ὡς μεταβεβλημένοις τὴν φύσιν ἀπιστεῖν, D.H. *de Isaeo* 16 τοῦ Λυσίου μὲν δή τις ἀναγινώσκων τὰς διηγήσεις οὐδὲν ἂν ὑπολάβῃ (ὑπολάβοι Krüger) λέγεσθαι κατὰ τέχνην ἢ πονηρίαν. These instances don't suffice to accept the subjunctive with ἄν in our passage. Moreover, the construction goes unmentioned in Schmid for all authors discussed in his work.

Once we have discarded the subjunctive the optative is the most obvious candidate to take its place. Kayser's present optative ὑποκρίνοιντο is closer to **A** and **E**'s ὑποκρίνωνται than **F**'s aorist optative ὑποκρίναιντο, which may well be due to conjecture. However, I think it more probable that ὑποκρίνωνται is a corruption of ὑποκρινοῦνται because it is difficult to see why the impeccable ὑποκρίνοιντο should have become corrupted into ὑποκρίνωνται. With ἂν ὑποκρινοῦνται we have another instance of the future with ἄν; see note on 2.21.1 (p. 55.26). The fact that the future with ἄν is so rare may have caused the change into ἂν ὑποκρίνωνται which has at least the merit of looking like a regular construction.

2.37.3 (p. 69.19) (...) ἡ δ' ἀκριβὴς καὶ ὑπερτείνουσα φορτική τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ταπεινοτέρα τῆς ὑμετέρας σκηνῆς φαίνεται καὶ τύφου δὲ αὐτό τι ἂν **ἡγοῖντο** βάσκανοι.

ἡγοῖντο **A** : ἡγῶνται **E** : ἡγοῦνται **F** : ⟨ἔχειν⟩ ἡγοῖντο Kayser[2]

Kayser's insertion of ἔχειν is unnecessary. The collocation τύφου τι can be regarded as the complement to αὐτὸ ἂν ἡγοῖντο. For τι with the genitive of a noun see KG 1.278, who give some instances from Thucydides, e.g. 7.48.2 ἐλπίδος τι. Our phrase can be rendered as "envious people might regard it as a form of pride".

2.39.2 (p. 70.6) καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἀποδόσθαι τὴν γῆν, εἰ προὔμαθεν, ὅτι βίον **ὑπ'** αὐτῇ ἔχοι.

ὑπ' Jackson : ἐπ' **A E F**

Most translators render the phrase ὅτι βίον ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἔχοι as "quibus vitam possit sustinere" (Olearius) or something similar but ἐπί with the dative does not admit such an interpretation. Phillimore gives ἐπί a local meaning and translates "there was a livelihood in it" but ἐπί doesn't mean "in". Jackson's ὑπ' fulfils all requirements: ὑπό has a local meaning which expresses well the fact that the treasure was hidden below the earth's

surface and therefore unknown to the seller. — For the confusion of ἐπί and ὑπό see Radt on Strabo 791.9.

2.39.2 (p. 70.7) ὁ πριάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ **πεπᾶσθαι**, ἃ ἐν τῇ λοιπὸν ἑαυτοῦ γῇ εὗρε.

πεπᾶσθαι **E** : πεπρᾶσθαι **F** : πεπτάσθαι (nisi fallor) **A**

Editors since Kayser read πεπᾶσθαι (which was also conjectured by Bentley) with **E**, the older editions having **F**'s πεπρᾶσθαι. The readings in **A** and **F** suggest that the archetype did not have πεπᾶσθαι but that there was one letter after πεπ-.[108] **F**'s πεπρᾶσθαι, "had been sold", is the most likely candidate but it is impossible to construe it as an accusative and infinitive with αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ because αὐτός must belong to the infinitive. **A**'s πεπτάσθαι (if this is indeed the reading of **A**) is unsatisfactory. And thus **E**'s πεπᾶσθαι (from *πάομαι, not from πατέομαι), "get, acquire" is what we need here.

2.40.1 (p. 70.28) "χαίρω" ἔφη "τῷ ξενίῳ· καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖς **καὶ σοφίζεσθαι** τὸν νόμον δι' ἐμέ."

καὶ σοφίζεσθαι **A E F** : κατασοφίζεσθαι Valckenaer[2]

Valckenaer's conjecture is ingenious and attractive because the basic meaning of κατασοφίζεσθαι is "*outwit by sophisms* or *fallacies*" (LSJ s.v. 1) while σοφίζεσθαι with an object normally means "*devise cleverly* or *skilfully*" (LSJ s.v. II.2.a). But LSJ s.v. σοφίζομαι II.2.b give the meaning "*evade*" for our passage; one of the other instances they quote for this meaning is Ael. *VH* 2.41 εἶτα ἐβουλήθη σοφίσασθαι τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνος, διπλασιάζων τὸν χρόνον καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις προστιθεὶς τὰς νύκτας (where notably the matter at stake also has to do with time). Schmid 3.152 also refers to Ael. *VH* 14.22 ἐσοφίσαντο οὖν τὸ τοῦ τυράννου πρόσταγμα. He gives the meaning "überlisten", and remarks that "dieser Gebrauch ist spät". With the transmitted text καί is a focus particle, which suits the context very well: "videris enim legem adeo mea caussa fallere" (Westermann).

2.40.3 (p. 71.18) (...) ἐπιστελῶ δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχᾳ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν σοφῶν, ἵν' Ἀπολλώνιον μὲν ὡς μηδὲν κακίω **ἑαυτοῦ** δέξηται κτέ.

ἑαυτοῦ] ἐμαυτοῦ Crac.VIII.16.2

The reading ἐμαυτοῦ implies that Phraotes regards Apollonius as not inferior to himself which conflicts with his modesty. Moreover, as Olearius points out, Phraotes places Apollonius on the same level as Iarchas. Both are θεῖοι ἄνδρες; for Apollonius, this is stated by Phraotes himself; for Iarchas see for instance 7.14.6 (p. 233.3–4). And in the actual

108 Another possibility, suggested to me by Donald Mastronarde, is that the archetype did have πεπᾶσθαι and that the two corruptions in **A** and **F** arose independently.

letter to Iarchas Phraotes calls Apollonius σοφώτατος (2.41 [p. 71.30–72.1]). Therefore ἑαυτοῦ should be kept. — Incidentally, the form ἑαυτοῦ can also be interpreted as first person singular; see note on 2.5.1 (p. 42.8). It cannot be excluded that Philostratus chose this form in order to achieve ambiguity.

2.43 (p. 72.21–22) τοὺς μὲν δὴ βωμοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου **ἡγώμεθα** τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τέρμα τιμῶντος, τὴν δὲ στήλην τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Ὕφασιν Ἰνδοὺς ἀναθεῖναι **δοκῶ μοι** λαμπρυνομένους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ προελθεῖν πρόσω.

ἡγώμεθα **E**^{2pc} : ἡγούμεθα **A E**^{ac2} **F** ‖ δοκῶ μοι **F** : δοκεῖ μοι **A E**

The indicative ἡγούμεθα of the older editions was replaced by the adhortative subjunctive ἡγώμεθα by Kayser; he found this reading in Par.1696, an apograph of **E**, in which it was introduced by a later hand, in all probability as a conjecture. The change is necessary. Philostratus mentions the presence of two monuments, the altars and the column. Then he attributes the monuments to Alexander and the Indians respectively. Both these attributions should be presented in the same way. The second one is tentative (δοκῶ μοι) and therefore the first one should be tentative as well; this is expressed adequately by the adhortative subjunctive ἡγώμεθα. Schmid 4.407 mentions numerous instances of ἡγώμεθα in similar contexts in Philostratus.

At first sight one would not hesitate for a moment to accept δοκεῖ μοι, which is found in **A E**, because the construction governs an accusative and infinitive in which the Indians are the subject. But Schmid 4.154 mentions three more instances of the anomalous construction δοκῶ μοι with accusative and infinitive in *VA* (5.2 [p. 147.14], 7.22.1 [p. 240.20] and 8.7.39 [p. 277.19]) and one in *Im.* 1.10 (p. 310.1–3 Kayser = p. 22.14–16 Benndorf-Schenkl). In the three passages in *VA* the mss. unanimously transmit δοκῶ μοι nor do Kayser[1] and Benndorf-Schenkl note any variant readings for the passage in *Im.* And therefore I believe that in our passage too δοκῶ μοι is the authentic reading, even if it is only preserved in **F**. The reading δοκεῖ μοι in **A** and **E** may well have been introduced in these mss. independently as a normalizing correction. A closer inspection of the ten occurrences of δοκεῖ μοι in *VA* shows that in those cases where δοκεῖ μοι governs an accusative and infinitive the meaning is always "I think it necessary/advisable"; see for instance 1.10.2 (p. 10.13–14) "δοκεῖ μοι," ἔφη "ὦ ἱερεῦ, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ", 3.42.2 (p. 102.4–5) δοκεῖ μοι καὶ τὸν προγνωσόμενον ἄνδρα ὑγιῶς ἑαυτοῦ ἔχειν. So after all δοκῶ μοι is in accordance with Philostratus' *usus* in the present passage while δοκεῖ μοι is not.

BOOK THREE

3.1.1 (p. 73.3) αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου βλύζουσι μὲν ἐκ πεδίου ναυσίποροι αὐτόθεν, προϊοῦσαι δὲ **καὶ** ναυσὶν ἤδη ἄποροί εἰσιν.

καὶ] αὐταὶ Jacobs[1] : del. Jackson

The navigability of the river Hyphasis is the opposite of what is usual: it is navigable right from the sources but further on it becomes impassible for boats. With regard to the second part of the sentence, προϊοῦσαι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶν ἤδη ἄποροί εἰσιν, Jacobs comments: "Vides (...) quam importunum sit hoc καὶ ante ναυσίν, quod tum demum locum haberet, si Philostratus navibus scapham ratemve opposuisset." Jackson makes the enigmatic statement: "if καὶ is right, then ναυσὶν ought not to be, but no doubt is", which, I guess, means that καὶ should be deleted according to him. After the information that the river is navigable for ships (ναυσίποροι) the remark that the river becomes impassible "for ships too" is nonsensical. There is no mention of other vessels, such as small boats or rafts.

However, Jacobs and Jackson's conjectures are mistaken. καί does not belong to ναυσίν, as they probably thought, but it should be taken together with the preceding δέ. About the collocation δὲ καί Denniston 1954, 305 remarks that καί can be added to δέ "to supplement the adversative (...) sense with the idea of the addition"; further on he states that καί approximates in sense to αὖ, which is exactly what we need in our passage.

3.1.2 (p. 73.15) ἔστι δέ τι θηρίον ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ σκώληκι εἰκασμένον λευκῷ. **τοῦτ' Ἰνδοὶ** τήκοντες ἔλαιον ποιοῦνται κτέ.

τοῦτ' Ἰνδοὶ Jacobs[6] : τοῦτον δ' οἱ **A E F** Phot. : τοῦτο οἱ Kayser[1/2]

In the transmitted text, the article in οἱ τήκοντες is strange. Normally, substantivated participles either refer to a group of people who have already been mentioned explicitly or implicitly (e.g. 4.35 [p. 135.25–26] Νέρων οὐ ξυνεχώρει φιλοσοφεῖν, ἀλλὰ περίεργον αὐτῷ χρῆμα οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες ἐφαίνοντο) or they are used generically (e.g. 3.1.1 [p. 73.9] οἱ ξυνιόντες ἐς τὸν γάμον). Instead of οἱ τήκοντες we would rather have a subject to which τήκοντες belongs as *participium coniunctum*. This probably induced Jacobs to conjecture τοῦτ' Ἰνδοί, which implies the change of only one letter: ΤΟΥΤΙΝΔΟΙ > ΤΟΥΤΟΝΔΟΙ.

I find Jacobs' conjecture convincing. We get rid of the strange οἱ τήκοντες and we have our desired subject instead. Further, it gives us an asyndeton which in Philostratus is regular in sentences starting with some form of οὗτος (see Schmid 4.521). In many

other passages we find (οἱ) Ἰνδοί when local habits are described (e.g. 2.6 [p. 43.18], 3.1.1 [p. 73.8], 3.4.3 [p. 75.12]).

3.2.1 (p. 73.23) *οὐ γὰρ* ***οὔτε νοσῆσαι*** *τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πιὼν οὔτε ἂν τρωθεὶς ἀλγῆσαι πυρός τε διεξελθεῖν ἂν καὶ μηδ' ἂν φαρμάκοις ἁλῶναι ὅσα ἐπὶ κακῷ πίνεται.*

οὔτ' ⟨ἂν⟩ *νοσῆσαι* Richards

The whole series of infinitives serves to indicate that the one who drinks from the horns of a wild ass is not susceptible to any harm. All infinitives therefore equal the potential optative. The particle *ἄν* accompanies the second, third and fourth infinitives but it is absent from the first one. Now nothing is easier than adding it conjecturally, as Richards proposed, but there are a number of cases in Philostratus where *ἄν* is absent from the potential optative or the counterfactual indicative (see Schmid 4.89–90) so that we should be hesitant to do so. In our passage the absence of *ἄν* might be defended by assuming that the following three infinitives with *ἄν* make the reader realize that the first infinitive without *ἄν* must also be taken as potential. Jackson wrote in the margin of his copy: "Does he [Philostratus] affect a retrospective *ἄν*?" KG 1.248–249 illustrate that with two or more coordinated verb forms *ἄν* often only accompanies the first verb. On p. 249 they state: "Für den umgekehrten Fall, dass *ἄν* bloss im zweiten Satzgliede stünde, im ersten aber hinzuzudenken wäre, finden sich nur wenige und zweifelhafte Belege." They quote D. 24.7 and Aeschin. 3.217.

I have checked the Philostratean corpus for cases of two or more members in which *ἄν* plays a role. In almost all the cases that I have seen *ἄν* accompanies all the verbal forms, apart from this passage and 4.18.1 (p. 122.3).[109] The particle may be omitted when the second element does not contain a new verbal element, such as *Her.* 31.1 (p. 39.13–15 De Lannoy) *πατρός τε γὰρ εἶναι Λοκρῶν δυνατωτάτου, στρατιάν τε οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄγειν, οὐδὲ δουλεύσειν ποτὲ ἑκὼν οὔτ' ἂν Ἀτρείδαις οὔτε ἄλλῳ οὐδενί, «ἔστ' ἂν ἥδε ἀστράπτῃ»*; *Her.* 35.4 (p. 49.15–17 De Lannoy) *ἀκόλαστον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑβριστικὸν ἐφθέγξατο ἂν οὐδεὶς ἐν ἐπηκόῳ τοῦ Αἴαντος, οὐδὲ ὁπόσοις ἦν διαφορὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους.* There are countless instances of repeated *ἄν* and it is superfluous to quote instances.[110] Even so, I think it wiser to refrain from adding *ἄν* conjecturally because we run the risk of correcting the author.[111]

109 In 4.18.1 it is possible that *ἄν* has fallen out before *ἀνοῖξαι*, as the result of haplography. — Of course, I realize that I may have missed some relevant passages because looking for something which is absent is a paradoxical enterprise.

110 A possible exception is constituted by *Her.* 43.1 (p. 55.6–8 De Lannoy) *καὶ μήτ' ἂν ἑκόντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐνθένδε, ἀπαχθῆναι δὲ μόγις ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ δεθῆναι δὲ αὖ ἐν αὐτῇ κλάοντα καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐμπίπλασθαι τοῦ λόγου*, but here the two verbs *ἀπαχθῆναι* and *δεθῆναι* are closely linked by *καί*. Boissonade and Richards have conjectured *ἄν* for *αὖ* which is quite attractive. In the first place *αὖ* is out of place here, because there is no strong contrast between *ἀπαχθῆναι* and *δεθῆναι*; in the second place the corruption of *ἄν* into *αὖ* can be explained as resulting from *Echoschreibung* of the immediately following *αὐτῇ*.

111 Cf. De Lannoy 1977, XXIII: "Particulam *ἄν* nusquam contra codices addidi."

As to the position of ἄν: Richards proposes reading οὐ γὰρ οὔτ' ⟨ἂν⟩ νοσῆσαι but if ἄν should be added (which I think is not the case) I would rather have οὐ γὰρ ⟨ἂν⟩ οὔτε νοσῆσαι because of the parallel construction at *Her.* 12.1 (p. 14.4–5 De Lannoy) μὴ γὰρ ἂν μήτε Διομήδους τι ἐλαττωθῆναι μαχόμενος, μήτ' ἂν Πατρόκλου, μήτ' ἂν τοῦ δευτέρου Αἴαντος.

3.4.1 (p. 74.14) Ἐντεῦθέν **φασιν** ὑπερβαλεῖν τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸ κατατεῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κτέ.

φασιν **F** : φησιν **A E** : om. Phot.

Although φασιν is only found in **F** it must be authentic. Many chapters in *VA* begin with φασι(ν) without a subject (e.g. 2.2.1 [p. 40.7], 2.4 [p. 41.21], 2.12.1 [p. 48.19], 2.19.1 [p. 54.10], etcetera). When the singular φησι(ν) is used, the subject Damis is always expressed (2.10 [p. 46.18], 3.36 [p. 99.4], 4.19 [p. 122.13], 5.9.1 [p. 152.14], 6.12.1 [p. 196.19], 6.21.6 [p. 208.12], 7.15.1 [p. 235.5], 7.38.1 [p. 253.11]). We never find φησιν without a subject.

3.7.1 (p. 77.1) ⟨...⟩ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τε καὶ τοὺς λόφους. ἴενται δὲ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐπὶ θήρᾳ κτέ.

καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας (πωρείας **A**) τε (τε om. **F**) καὶ τοὺς λόφους ἴενται δὲ **A E F** : οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τε καὶ τοὺς λόφους ἴενται μὲν Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : οἱ μὴν ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τε καὶ τοὺς λόφους ἴενται μὲν Miller ‖ καὶ τοὺς^{1}] lacunam ante καὶ τοὺς statuerunt Reiske^{2} et Jackson quam explet Reiske verbis περὶ δὲ τοὺς ὀρείους, Jackson exempli gratia verbis λοφίας δὲ φάσκοντες τούς τε πεδινοὺς ἂν ἀληθεύοιμεν

In the editions from Olearius onward a new chapter starts with Καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τε καὶ τοὺς λόφους. The Aldine and Morel editions follow the mss.[112] in linking these words to what precedes but this would mean that the snakes from the foothills and the ridges don't have crests either, which is in flat contradiction with what is stated a little further on. So Olearius was right in starting a new chapter with Καὶ τοὺς κτέ.

But the transmitted text results in a syntactic anomaly which seems to be hard to swallow even in Philostratus. There are countless instances of an absolute nominative standing at the beginning of a phrase (called *absolute nominative* or *nominativus pendens* in traditional grammars and *Theme construction* in modern linguistic models); see Schmid 4.113–115. But in this place we would have to assume the reverse, namely an *accusativus pendens* expressing the subject of the sequel of the sentence. A second problem is constituted by the transmitted δέ after ἴενται for which no satisfactory explanation can be given.

112 **F** (and its indirect apograph Laur.69.26, the source of the Aldine edition) and **E** have high periods after εὕροιμεν and λόφους; **A** has a comma after εὕροιμεν and a high period after λόφους.

Kayser's conjectures result in a smooth text but it is hard to explain how the corruption might have originated. Following Reiske and Jackson I think it more probable that something has fallen out before καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας. Both suggest supplements which indicate that the other types of snakes do have crests. This is possible but no more than that.

I have decided to print the transmitted text, indicating a lacuna before καί. But the corruption may lie deeper.

3.7.1 (p. 77.5–6) τούτοις καὶ λοφιὰ φύεται νέοις μὲν ὑπανίσχουσα τὸ μέτριον, τελειουμένοις δὲ συναυξανομένη τε καὶ συνανιοῦσα ἐς πολύ, **οἱ δὲ δὴ πυρσῖται** καὶ **πριονωτοὶ** γίνονται.

οἱ δὲ δὴ **A E F** Phot.**A**^{2} : οἳ δὲ δὴ Reiske^{2} : ὅτε δὴ Phot.**M** : ὅτε δὲ Phot.**A** ‖ πυρσῖται **A E**$^{\text{1pc}}$ **F** : πυρσίται **E**$^{\text{ac}}$: πύρσεται Phot.**M** : πυρσῆται Phot.**A**^{2} : πῦρ τε Phot.**A** : πυρσοί τε Phot.$^{\text{mg}}$ (in editione Bekkeri) ‖ πριονωτοὶ Reiske^{1} (et Kayser$^{\text{1C}}$) : πριόνωτοι **A E F** Phot.**A**^{2} : πριόνωτος Phot.**AM** : πριόνωτοι ⟨τὰ νῶτα⟩ Jackson

There are three textual issues in this short sentence. Kayser's text (with Photius' ὅτε δή for the mss. reading οἱ δὲ δή) links the clause to what precedes: when the snakes grow up, their crests become very high "while the snakes turn crimson and develop serrated backs" (Jones). The older editions, preserving the text of the mss., make a new sentence start with οἱ δὲ δή, which is taken as describing a sub-group of snakes: "Quotquot vero eorum coloris ignei sunt, & dorsum habent serratum, iis etiam barba crescit" (Olearius), "Die von feuerrother Farbe und sägenförmigem Rücken, haben auch Bärte" (Jacobs); Reiske rightly points out that this requires the accentuation οἳ instead of the mss. reading οἱ. However, this reading is unattractive for several reasons. In the first place it is strange to find a sub-class of the plain snakes: the whole sequel would apply only to this sub-group and we would learn nothing about the other sub-group, that is, the plain snakes who do not have crimson and serrated backs. In the second place, in Philostratus I have not found other comparable instances of a relative clause followed by the resumptive pronoun οὗτος/οὗτοι.[113] In the third place, forms of οὗτος occur very frequently with asyndeton in Philostratus (see Schmid 4.521); and in the immediate sequel there are two more cases of οὗτοι καί (3.8.1 [p. 78.2] and 3.8.3 [p. 78.13]). And thus Photius and Kayser must be right in putting a full stop after γίνονται but I think that the mss. reading should be retained: οἱ δέ serves as a Topic switch from the crest to the snakes themselves.

The mss. unanimously transmit πυρσῖται, for which Kayser prints πυρσοί τε which he read in Bekker's edition of Photius' *Bibliotheca*.[114] I guess that Bekker's choice for πυρσοί τε was also influenced by the occurrence of the same word below (at the beginning of ch. 8). At any rate, πυρσοί τε is not mentioned in the apparatus of Henry's edition of

113 The only exception is 6.13.3 (p. 198.14–15) οὓς γὰρ ψεύδει ὑπηγάγετο, πῶς ἂν οὗτοι σοφίας αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσειαν, but there the main clause starts with πῶς.

114 According to the apparatus in Bekker's edition this reading is found in the margin, but Bekker does not indicate in which manuscript he found this marginal reading.

Photius. The word πυρσῖται is not attested elsewhere but there seems to be no reason to reject it for that reason. It is perfectly acceptable Greek.

Finally, the clause contains the word πριόνωτοι, as it is accentuated in the mss. LSJ have the lemma πριονωτός, "(as if from πριονόω [an unattested verb — GJB]), *made like a saw, jagged, serrated*"; they do not mention πριόνωτος as an alternative form. Apart from our passage, the accentuation πριόνωτος is found four times, among others in Suda and Zonaras. There are eleven passages where the editions print a form of πριονωτός. Two of these are found in the *corpus Philostrateum*: *Im.* 1.10 (p. 309.10–11 Kayser = p. 21.19–20 Benndorf-Schenkl) μέλανα καὶ πριονωτὰ ὁρᾷς τὰ κέρατα, and Philostr.Jun. *Im.* 4 (p. 397.7–11 Kayser) δράκοντός τε, ὃς ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἀνέστηκεν ἐγείρας τὸν αὐχένα κατὰ νῶτα δαφοινὸς καὶ γένεια καθιεὶς ὑπ᾽ ὀρθῇ καὶ πριονωτῇ τῇ λοφιᾷ βλέπων τε δεινῶς δεδορκός. In the latter passage we find the juxtaposition of πριονωτῇ and τῇ λοφιᾷ, just as in our passage. Therefore I have followed Reiske and Kayser[115] and printed πριονωτοὶ. Incidentally, note that the word refers to the crest, as in the passage from Philostratus Junior, and not to the back (as it would if it were πριό-νωτος).

3.7.2 (p. 77.13) εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅμοιοι τοῖς τῶν μεγίστων συῶν, λεπτότεροι δὲ καὶ **⟨ἀ⟩διάστροφοι** καὶ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἄτριπτοι, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν μεγάλων ἰχθύων.

⟨ἀ⟩διάστροφοι Reiske^{2} : διάστροφοι **A E F**

Philostratus states that the teeth of the snake resemble the tusks of boars but differ from these in three aspects: they are lighter, twisted and are always sharp. The second element is surprising because boars do have twisted tusks. Jones translates the word as "spiral in shape", which we find, for instance, in the antelope but I doubt whether the word can be used to indicate this spiral form. Reiske tentatively suggests ἀδιάστροφοι, adding the following explanation: "non hamati vel incurvi, ut sunt dentes aprorum, aut nequit eorum cuspis incurvari". I find this convincing. For untwisted horns cf. Hld. 3.1.4 Οἱ βόες μέλανες πάντες, τὸν αὐχένα σφριγῶντες καὶ πρὸς κύρτωμα μέτριον ἐγείροντες, τὸ μὲν κέρας ἀπέριττον καὶ ἀδιάστροφον ὀξύνοντες. In our passage the word ἀδιάστροφοι refers to untwisted horns and not to non-spiral horns. Moreover, the comparison with big fish (Philostratus is probably thinking of the swordfish) favours the reading ἀδιάστροφοι, because these fish also have straight sword-like bills.

The form of the word ἀδιάστροφοι is echoed in the following ἄτριπτοι, which may have been the cause of its corruption through dissimilation.

115 Kayser suggested πριονωτοὶ in the corrigenda to his 1844 edition but he did not print it in his 1870 edition, thus overlooking his own correction.

3.8.2 (p. 78.6) (...) καὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἀπορρήτου σοφίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄδουσιν, οἷς ἄγεταί τε καὶ τὸν αὐχένα **ὑπεκβαλὼν** τῆς χειᾶς ἐπικαθεύδει τοῖς γράμμασι.

ὑπεκβαλὼν Reiske[2] (et Toup[2] Hamaker Jacobs[1/2]) : ὑπερβαλὼν **A** : ὑποβαλὼν **E F** Phot. : ἐκβαλὼν Olearius : προβαλὼν Reiske[1]

A's reading ὑπερβαλών is flatly impossible: ὑπερβάλλω is to throw something over something else; moreover, it is not accompanied by the genitive. **E** and **F**'s ὑποβαλών may well be a conjecture, based upon ὑπερβαλών. Reiske's ὑπεκβαλών is exactly what we need: the snake cautiously (ὑπ-) pokes his head out of (-εκ-) the hole. Reiske's conjecture was repeated independently by Toup, Hamaker and Jacobs. Hamaker 1816, 43–45 aptly points out that Philostratus is fond of composita starting with ὑπεκ-. He points to ὑπεκδῦναι (e.g. *Im.* 1.26 [p. 331.7 Kayser = p. 50.14 Benndorf-Schenkl]), ὑπεξέρχεσθαι (e.g. *VA* 7.9.2 [p. 226.19]), ὑπεξιέναι (e.g. *Im.* 1.4 [p. 300.20 Kayser = p. 11.2 Benndorf-Schenkl]), ὑπεκπέμπειν (e.g. *Her.* 45.8 [p. 59.14 De Lannoy]) and four more verbs.

3.11 (p. 79.19) τουτὶ δὲ ἀκούω χρόνοις ὕστερον καὶ **περὶ Μέ⟨μ⟩νονα τὸν** Ἡρώδου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τρόφιμον (ἀπ᾽ Αἰθιόπων δὲ ἦν) ἐν μειρακίῳ δόξαι κτέ.

περὶ Μέ⟨μ⟩νονα τὸν Olearius : περὶ Μένωνα τὸν **E F** : περιμένων αὐτὸν **A**

In *VS* 2.1.13.3 (p. 72.4–5 Stefec) Philostratus mentions the three foster sons of Herodes Atticus: Achilles, Memnon and Polydeuces. This induced Olearius to suggest that the transmitted Μένωνα in our passage must be a corruption of Μέμνονα. Olearius rightly remarks that Memnon is a typical Aethiopian name. Moreover, Herodes' other foster sons were called Achilles and Polydeuces; Homer (*Od.* 11.522) mentions Memnon as κάλλιστος and δῖος. Therefore Memnon is better company to Achilles and Polydeuces than Menon, who is not a mythological figure. It is virtually unthinkable that the confusion is due to Philostratus himself and it is hard to explain why Olearius' suggestion was not accepted by any other editor before Jones.

3.12 (p. 79.26) (...) καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὔπω θαυμαστὸν δόξαι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πάντας **ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων φθέγγεσθαι** κτέ.

ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων φθέγγεσθαι suspectum habet Jones ‖ ἀπὸ] ὅπα Reiske[2] : ⟨τὰ⟩ ἀπὸ Jackson

The meaning of the phrase ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων φθέγγεσθαι is clear, "to speak Greek", but the use of ἀπό in this sense seems to be unparalleled. Remarkably enough, Schmid 4.444 doesn't mention our passage in his discussion of Philostratus' use of ἀπό. Jones doubts the phrase but he has no suggestions for improvement. Reiske's conjecture is more ingenious than attractive and Jackson's addition of τά leaves the basic problem unsolved. So I think we will have to accept the phrase as one of the numerous linguistic innovations by Philostratus.

3.13 (p. 80.10) τὸν γὰρ Διόνυσον, ὅτε ξὺν Ἡρακλεῖ ἀπεπειρᾶτο τοῦ χωρίου, προσβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ φασι κελεῦσαι τοὺς Πᾶνας, ὡς **πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν** ἱκανούς κτέ.

πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν Scaliger (et Valckenaer[2]) : πρὸς τὸν σεισμὸν **A E F**

The transmitted reading is to be rejected for two reasons. In the first place the definite article is out of place because there has at yet been no mention of an earthquake at all. What is more, it is not clear what we should understand by this earthquake. Scaliger's conjecture (repeated by Valckenaer) gives us exactly what we need: the Pans, with their hooves, are perfectly equipped to climb the steep rocks of the citadel. Valckenaer aptly refers to Ar. *Lys.* 288 τὸ πρὸς πόλιν τὸ σιμόν. The corruption may have been caused by association with the immediately following ἐμβροντηθέντας.

3.13 (p. 80.14) περὶ δὲ τῷ ὄχθῳ νεφέλην ἰδεῖν φασιν, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς οἰκεῖν φανερούς τε καὶ ἀφανεῖς **καθ'** ὅ τι βούλονται.

καθ' Westermann^{Adn} (et Madvig Phillimore) : καὶ **A E F**^{2pc} : om. **F**^{ac2}

The obvious meaning of the passage is that the Indians can make themselves visible and invisible as they please. All translators take the passage in this sense, most of them not noticing that the transmitted καὶ ὅ τι βούλονται cannot bear this meaning. Westermann was the first to realize this and he proposed reading καθ' instead of καί, although he didn't print this conjecture in his text. The same conjecture was made by Madvig and Phillimore, who probably did not know that they were anticipated by Westermann. The collocation καθ' ὅ τι is not found elsewhere in Philostratus but that need not prevent us from accepting it here.

3.14.1 (p. 80.20) ἰδεῖν δὲ πρῶτον φρέαρ ὀργυιῶν τεττάρων, οὗ τὴν αὐγὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον ἀναπέμπεσθαι κυανωτάτην οὖσαν καὶ ὁπότε ἡ μεσημβρία τοῦ ἡλίου σταίη περὶ αὐτό, ἀνιμᾶσθαι τὴν αὐγὴν **ἀπὸ** τῆς ἀκτῖνος καὶ χωρεῖν ἄνω παρεχομένην εἶδος θερμῆς ἴριδος.

ἀπὸ] ὑπὸ Jacobs[6] (et Jackson Lucarini)

The meaning of the passage is clear: the blue light which hangs above the well is drawn up to the sky at noon. Lucarini 2004, 253 states that ἀνιμᾶν ἀπό means "*hauriri aliquid aliquo subsidio adhibito*"; he refers to Thphr. *HP* 4.3.5 ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ καὶ τὰ φρέατα εἶναι ἑκατὸν ὀργυιῶν, ὥστε ὑποζυγίοις ἀπὸ τροχηλιᾶς ἀνιμᾶν. Lucarini quotes this passage in order to show that in our passage ἀπό must be corrupt. I would regard it rather as an indication of its correct interpretation, namely to take the midday sun (ἡ μεσημβρία τοῦ ἡλίου) as the Agens and ἀκτίς as the instrument: the midday sun draws the blue light to the sky by means of its rays. Thus there is no need to change the transmitted text.

3.14.3 (p. 81.10) (...) τὰ δέ γε ἀρχαιότατα τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι τό τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ **Λιμναίου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου** καὶ ὁπόσα δὲ ἀρχαῖα κτέ.

Λιμναίου Kayser[1/2] : λημναίου **E F** : λημνίου **A** : Ληναίου Eus. : Ὑλημάνου Jacobs[6] (praeeunte Crac. VIII.16.2 qui ὑλημνάνου praebet) ‖ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου post Δηλίου (l. 9) transp. Jackson : καὶ τὸ ⟨τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος⟩ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου Cobet : om. Eus.

The readings of the mss. are impossible: the only classical attestation of Λημναῖος is Lycophron *Alexandra* 227, Λημναίῳ πυρί. Both λημναίου and λημνίου result in a "Lemnian Dionysus", but there is no special bond between the god and the island of Lemnos. Kayser's conjecture is attractive in itself and the corruption is easily explained as the result of itacism. So the choice is between Kayser's Λιμναίου and Eusebius' Ληναίου. Both epithets are attached to Dionysus. For Λιμναῖος, which refers to Dionysus' temple "in the marshes", see for instance Ath. 11.13 ὅθεν καὶ Λιμναῖον κληθῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον; for Ληναῖος, which refers to Dionysus' role as god of the wine-press, see D.S. 3.63.4 ἀφ' οὗ Ληναῖον αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι, 4.5.1 Βακχεῖον μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν συνεπομένων βακχῶν ὀνομάσαι, Ληναῖον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατῆσαι τὰς σταφυλὰς ἐν ληνῷ. Th. 2.15.4 mentions the temple ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου among the oldest temples of Athens. This certainly pleads in favour of Λιμναίου in our passage, because Philostratus is concerned with the oldest Greek statues of gods.

Further, an authentic Λιμναίου explains the transmitted readings more easily than Eusebius' Ληναίου. First, λιμναίου was corrupted into λημναίου; then (a predecessor of) **A** turned this into λημνίου, thus restoring the normal form of the adjective belonging to Lemnos; (a predecessor of) Eusebius made up another epithet by just omitting the *my*. If, on the other hand, Eusebius' Ληναίου is regarded as authentic we have to suppose that a scribe inadvertently added a *my*, which is very improbable because the resulting word, as we have seen, is attested only once in Classical Greek. It might be argued that this scribe thought of Lemnos as Philostratus' birthplace but this seems very far-fetched. And so I have chosen to print Kayser's conjecture.

Let us now turn to καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου. This phrase deviates from the three preceding phrases because the name of the god is lacking and because it refers to a god who has already been mentioned, namely Apollo. Of the remedies suggested by Cobet and Jackson the latter is the more attractive but Kayser[1] remarks: "Amyclaeus a Delio separatur aut neglegentia quadam saepius apud Nostrum obvia (...) aut voluit singularem hujus Apollinis naturam transpositione significare scriptor", and this may very well be the case. In his note on *VS* 1.9.23.2 (p. 13.32–33 Kayser 1838 = p. 12.27–28 Stefec) ὁρμῆς τε γὰρ τοῖς σοφισταῖς ἦρξε καὶ παραδοξολογίας καὶ πνεύματος, Kayser 1838 (p. 196) remarks: "καὶ πνεύματος. Hoc arcte coniungendum fuit cum ὁρμῆς, quum ὁρμὴ et πνεῦμα parum inter se differant. At Philostratus videtur consulto hanc ἀταξίαν quaesivisse, ut alia exempla docent"; Kayser then refers to *VS* 1.8.21.1 (p. 12.10–12 Stefec) and *VS* 2.10.41.1 (p. 100.6–8 Stefec).

The fact that Eusebius omits the phrase can hardly count as an argument against its

authenticity because Eusebius gives a paraphrase of the passage and not a verbatim quotation; after Dionysus he adds καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν, to which the Amyclaean Apollo belongs as well. Eusebius' (Christian) readers probably did not immediately identify "the Amyclaean" as the god Apollo.

One might suppose that the phrase belongs to Dionysus because Dionysus was venerated too at Amyclae; see Paus. 3.19.6 θεῶν δὲ σέβουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ τόν τε Ἀμυκλαῖον καὶ Διόνυσον. But the phrasing in Pausanias shows that ὁ Ἀμυκλαῖος *tout court* is sufficient to indicate Apollo.

3.15.1 (p. 81.18) "εἶδον" φησὶν "Ἰνδοὺς Βραχμᾶνας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους **ἢ** τὰ πάντων."

ἢ] καὶ Olearius (et Richards)

Apollonius states three paradoxes about the Wise Men: "I saw Indian Brahmans living upon the earth and yet not on it, and fortified without fortifications, and possessing nothing, yet having the riches of all men" (Conybeare, who has ἢ in his Greek text). In all three paradoxes the terms seem to be mutually exclusive, the paradox consisting of the statement that the Wise Men have these properties at the same time. This simultaneity of mutually exclusive terms is expressed by means of καί in the first pair, by a participle with adverb in the second pair and by ἤ in the third pair. It is this ἤ which has troubled scholars. And indeed, if we take ἤ in the disjunctive sense (corresponding to Latin *aut*) it results in the Wise Men having either nothing or everything, which is not what is meant here, witness the paraphrase μηδὲν κεκτημένους τὰ πάντων ἔχειν further on (3.15.3 [p. 82.11–12]). Accordingly, Olearius and Richards conjectured καί, which is accepted by Jones.[116] Richards 1909, 105 points out that the same corruption is found in 6.11.13 [p. 193.17–18], where this passage is repeated verbatim. This, however, should make us hesitate to dismiss ἤ as a mere scribal blunder. If the two identical passages occurred close together in the work one might assume that the corruption of καί into ἤ is due to *Echoschreibung* but in fact the second occurrence comes three books after the first one. And although confusion of καί and ἤ is by no means rare it would be too much of a coincidence that this confusion should have taken place twice independently within the same phrase. So the statistics plead in favour of ἤ.

But is ἤ acceptable in itself? I think so, if we take it in the sense of Latin *sive*; see KG 2.297: "Häufig wird ἤ auch gebraucht, wenn die Wahl zwischen zwei Begriffen oder Gedanken zweifelhaft ist, sodass nicht nur der eine, sondern auch der andere als statthaft erscheinen kann (...)." This applies well to our passage. The choice for ἤ instead of καί probably is to be explained by *variatio*: as stated above, the three antithetic pairs are all formulated in a different manner. By the same token, Philostratus may have wished to avoid another καί after the three preceding occurrences.

116 Remarkably enough, Jones keeps ἤ in 6.11.13 (p. 193.18).

3.15.4 (p. 83.1–2) ἡ δὲ ὕλη τῆς ἐσθῆτος, ἔριον αὐτοφυὲς ἡ γῆ φύει, λευκὸν μὲν ὥσπερ τὸ Παμφύλων, **μαλακώτερον δέ· τίκτει ἡ πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι**.

μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει, ἡ (ἢ **E**) πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' (ita **A**^{1sl} : ἐπ' **A E F**) αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι **A E F** : μαλακώτερον δέ (τίκτει – λείβεσθαι omisso) Phot. : μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει, καί τι μέλι οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι Scaliger : μαλακώτερον δὲ θιγεῖν ἢ πιμελὴν ὥστε δοκεῖν οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι Reiske$^{1/2}$: μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει, ἡ ⟨δὲ⟩ πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι Jacobs^{1} : μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει, καὶ ἡ (vel ἡ ⟨δὲ⟩, sicut Jacobs^{1}) πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι Kayser^{1App} : μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει, ἡ πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεται Kayser^{1C} : μαλακώτερον δέ, πυκνότης δ' ἀμέλει οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι Miller : μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει, ἡ ⟨δὲ⟩ πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεται Kayser^{2} : μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει καὶ πιμελὴν ⟨δοκεῖ⟩ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι Schenkl^{2} : locus valde suspectus

As happens often, the meaning of the passage is perfectly clear: the earth brings forth a kind of white cotton which is made soft by the oil which it exudes. The phrasing, however, is far from clear and a host of conjectures have been proposed, most of which are far-fetched and unconvincing. Kayser's solution has the merit of giving a smooth text but this very smoothness makes one feel uneasy in Philostratus.

I see two possibilities to give some meaning to the transmitted text. The first of these requires placing a colon after μαλακώτερον δέ (following Miller) instead of after τίκτει. The text then runs: ἡ δὲ ὕλη τῆς ἐσθῆτος, ἔριον αὐτοφυὲς ἡ γῆ φύει, λευκὸν μὲν ὥσπερ τὸ Παμφύλων, μαλακώτερον δέ· τίκτει ἡ πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι. Thus τίκτει is separated from the first part of the sentence; τίκτει, when taken with the first part, is a clumsy repetition of φύει. The rest, then, explains why the Indian cotton is so soft: "the sap produces a kind of olive oil to drip from the plant". ἡ δὲ ὕλη τῆς ἐσθῆτος is a *nominativus pendens* or Theme construction; the asyndeton is explicative; λείβεσθαι is an epexegetic infinitive.

The second possibility is not to punctuate at all between μαλακώτερον and λείβεσθαι, which gives the following text: ἡ δὲ ὕλη τῆς ἐσθῆτος, ἔριον αὐτοφυὲς ἡ γῆ φύει, λευκὸν μὲν ὥσπερ τὸ Παμφύλων, μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει ἡ πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι. The second part of the sentence might be taken as "the fact that the sap drips from the plant like some sort of olive oil makes it softer". On this reading, the subject of τίκτει is the phrase ἡ πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεσθαι, which functions as a substantivated nominative and infinitive. Although a nominative instead of an accusative and infinitive is found a number of times in Philostratus (see Schmid 4.83) a substantivated nominative and infinitive is unparalleled and strains even Philostratus' experimental syntax. Moreover, τίκτει is far removed from its original meaning.

I have opted for the first interpretation but I am far from happy with it and the text may well be corrupt.

3.16.4 (p. 84.8) ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ ὁπόθεν **ᾔδει** ἐπερομένου, "καὶ σὺ μέτοχος" ἔφη κτέ.

ᾔδει **A E F** : εἰδείη Cobet

Cobet's conjecture is based on the grammar of Classical Attic but elsewhere too Philostratus uses the indicative of the imperfect (or the pluperfect, as here) in indirect questions. See for instance 2.35.1 [p. 66.25] ἐνεθυμεῖτο **A E F**, where Kayser needlessly prints ἐνθυμοῖτο.

3.18 (p. 85.13) "ἡμεῖς" ἔφη "πάντα γινώσκομεν, ἐπειδὴ πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς γινώσκομεν· οὐ γὰρ **προσέλθοι** τις ἡμῶν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ μὴ πρῶτον εἰδὼς ἑαυτόν."

προσέλθοι **A E** : ἂν προσέλθοι **F**

According to the rules of Classical Attic syntax the potential optative must be accompanied by ἄν and if it were present in all the mss. it would be foolish not to print it. In our passage, however, it is only found in **F**. This ms. has all the appearance of a learned edition; there are other passages where **F** normalizes the text.[117] Schmid 4.89 lists seven more passages in *VA* where we find the potential optative without ἄν (which is supplied by Kayser in three of these passages).[118] Therefore I have decided to omit it here as well.

3.19.1 (p. 85.21) Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν ἐρώτησιν "περὶ ψυχῆς δὲ" **ἔφη** "πῶς φρονεῖτε;"

ἔφη **E F** : εἶπε **A**

The *inquit* formulas ἔφη and εἶπε might seem to be interchangeable but here the context slightly favours ἔφη. In the brief exchanges between Apollonius and Iarchas at the end of chapter 18 and the beginning of chapter 19 there is a regular sequence of alternation between the two: chapter 18, p. 85.17 (Iarchas) εἶπεν, (ἐπερομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ [= Ἀπολλωνίου]) p. 85.18 (Iarchas) ἔφη; chapter 19, p. 85.21 ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν ἐρώτησιν (Apollonius) ἔφη **E F**: εἶπεν **A**, p. 85.22 (Iarchas) εἶπεν, p. 85.23 (Apollonius) ἔφη, p. 86.2 (Iarchas) εἶπεν. This tilts the balance in favour of ἔφη. For a similar alternation of both formulas see for instance 3.29 (p. 94.3–8). But this is not a rigorous rule: in 2.35.1–36.1 (p. 66.25–67.16) the pattern is εἶπεν - ἔφη - ἔφη - εἶπεν - εἶπεν - ἔφη - ἔφη - ἔφη - ἔφη.

3.19.1 (p. 85.22) "ὥς γε" εἶπεν "Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὑμῖν, **ἡμεῖς** δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις παρεδώκαμεν."

⟨Πυθαγόρᾳ δὲ (δ' Reiske[2]) Αἰγύπτιοι⟩, ἡμεῖς Reiske[1/2]

To Apollonius' question of what the Indians think about the soul Iarchas responds that they hold the same belief as the Greeks: what Pythagoras taught the Greeks is what the

117 See the Introduction, p. 5.

118 See also *Her.* 2.4 (p. 2.29–3.1 De Lannoy) καὶ κάρυα δοίην καὶ μῆλα δοίην καὶ μυρία ἀγαθὰ ἕτερα, where De Lannoy prints the transmitted text, while Papavasalios, Richards and Eitrem supply ἄν. — Schmid 4.89 n. 40 remarks that Apollonius Dyscolus often omits ἄν with the optative and indicative. Schmid 1.244 states that the potential optative without ἄν occurs several times in Lucian but he does not give instances.

Indians taught the Egyptians. The unexpressed step in the argument is that the Egyptians taught Pythagoras. Reiske's suppletion intends to fill this gap but this is not necessary. It was commonly accepted that Pythagoras was taught by the Egyptians (see for instance *VA* 8.7.16 [p. 267.20–268.2]) so that Iarchas left it to Apollonius to come to the conclusion about this link himself. *Sapienti sat.*

3.19.1 (p. 86.1) "εἴποις ἂν οὖν," ἔφη "καθάπερ ὁ Πυθαγόρας Εὔφορβον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνεν, ὅτι καὶ σύ, πρὶν εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκειν τὸ σῶμα, Τρώων τις ἢ Ἀχαιῶν **ἦ͜ς** ἢ ὁ δεῖνα;"

ἦ͜ς **E F** : ἤσθον **A** : ἤσθα Laur.CS.155 (Kayser$^{1/2}$)

Schmid 4.35 lists eleven places (apart from our passage) where Philostratus has ἤσθα and only one for ἦ͜ς (*Ep.* 36 [p. 244.7 K.]). Even so, I have printed ἦ͜ς, which is found in **E F**. At 5.34.1 (p. 169.20) I accept Jones' conjecture ἦ͜ς (ἦν **A E FQ**: ἤσθα Richards). **A**'s ἤσθον is probably to be regarded as the first person singular of the imperfect of εἰμί, a form which is not attested elsewhere. ἤσθα, which is found in Laur.CS.155, a derivative of **F** and the indirect source of the Aldine edition, is in all probability a conjecture.

3.19.1 (p. 86.6) ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἤρου με περὶ τοῦ προτέρου σώματος, εἰπέ μοι, τίνα **θαυμασιώτερον** ἠγῇ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Τροίας ἐλθόντων;

θαυμασιώτερον] θαυμασιώτατον Richards

We expect the superlative in Iarchas' question but Richards' conjecture is superfluous because the form of the comparative is sometimes used with a superlative meaning; see Schmid 1.238, 3.62, 4.62; Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf 1990, §60. In Philostratus we find a similar comparative for superlative at *Gymn.* 19 (p. 271.26 K. = p. 148.27 Jüthner) τὸ ῥᾳθυμότερον τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

3.20.2 (p. 86.24–25) καὶ γάρ τι καὶ φάσμα τοῦ Γάγγου προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν **ἐνταραττόμενον** τῷ ὁμίλῳ, ὃ οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε, πρίν γε δὴ τοὺς αὐθέντας καὶ τοὺς τὸ αἷμα **χερσὶ** πράξαντας τῇ γῇ καθιερεύσαιεν.

ἐνταραττόμενον] ἐν{τ}αραττόμενον Scaliger (et Reiske^{2}) : ἐν{τ}αράττο{μενο}ν Reiske^{1} : ἐνται{ρα}τόμενον dubitanter Richards : παραται{ρα}ττόμενον Jackson ‖ χερσὶ Spengel (apud Kayser^{IN}) : χωρὶς **A F** : τῇ γῇ **E** : locus valde dubius

Translators take the phrase ἐνταραττόμενον τῷ ὁμίλῳ as "causing terror among the mob" (Jones). Richards 1909, 105 remarks that "[t]here is no meaning in ἐνταραττόμενον", probably reasoning that "cause terror" requires the active ταράττω, but Allan 2003, 115–117 shows that for causative verbs the middle voice can also be used. In a personal communication Allan has suggested to me that in this passage the verb can also have an intransitive meaning, "by moving violently". Reiske's conjectures are inappropriate

because the ghost cannot be supposed to use violence. The conjectures by Richards and Jackson, on the other hand, appear to be too tame.

The transmitted χωρίς seems to be impossible: χωρὶς πράττω (for which I have not found instances) would mean "to make apart" but this cannot be supposed to be an adequate phrase for "to murder". Spengel's conjecture χερσί stays pretty close to the transmission but I have not found exact parallels for the phrase τοὺς τὸ αἷμα χερσὶ πράξαντας. Even so, the phrase seems to be appropriate for expressing "those that had stained their hands with blood" (Jones). But the whole phrase remains suspect.

3.20.3 (p. 87.14) τὸ δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ βέλτιον τοῦ δουλείαν ἐπάγειν πόλει καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ γυναικός, ἣν εἰκὸς μηδὲ ἄκουσαν **ἀνηρπάσθαι**.

ἀνηρπάσθαι **A E F** : ἡρπάσθαι Kayser[2] : ἁρπασθῆναι Cobet

Cobet 1859, 122–123 argues that the *simplex* ἁρπάζω is appropriate here; in this respect he is followed by Kayser[2]. The reading ἀνηρπάσθαι, then, could be explained as due to dittography of αν: ἄκουσαν ἀνηρπάσθαι. However, in E. *IA* 75–76 we find ἐρῶν ἐρῶσαν ᾄχετ' ἐξαναρπάσας | Ἑλένην so there is no need to doubt the transmitted reading.

3.22.1 (p. 88.5) "τί οὖν," εἶπεν "ὦ Ἰάρχα, **τὸ μειρακίου** πάθος;"

τὸ μειρακίου **A F** : τοῦ μειρακίου **E** : τὸ ⟨τοῦ⟩ μειρακίου Jackson

At first sight Jackson's addition of the article seems to be necessary and the omission is easily explained but Schmid 4.66–67 lists a number of places in Philostratus where the article is absent from a noun in the singular, e.g. *VA* 1.21.1 (p. 21.21) πόλιν, 7.19 (p. 238.9) καρδία.

3.23.1 (p. 88.18) "ὁ βασιλεὺς" ἔφη "περὶ δείλην **πρωΐαν** ἀφίξεται ξυνεσόμενος ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων."

πρωΐαν Olearius (et Cobet) : πρώτην **A E F**

If the phrase δείλη πρώτη existed (I have not found other instances) it should be taken to mean "early in the afternoon" because in ch. 26 the king's arrival appears to take place shortly after noon (3.26.1 [p. 91.23] μετὰ μεσημβρίαν). Olearius' convincing conjecture πρωΐαν is supported, e.g., by Moeris δ 46 δείλης πρωΐας τὸ μετὰ ἕκτην ὥραν, δείλης ὀψίας πρὸς ἑσπέραν.

3.23.1 (p. 88.21) ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον "σὺ δ' ἂν εἴποις" ἔφη "τὸ **πρότερον** σῶμα καὶ ὅστις πρὸ τοῦ νῦν ἦσθα;"

πρότερον **E** : πρῶτον **A F** : πρὸ τοῦ Reiske[2]

The archetype probably had πρῶτον because this is the reading of **A** and **F**. But it can hardly be assumed that Iarchas asks Apollonius about his very first incarnation. Therefore I have adopted πρότερον, although it is only found in **E**. Reiske, who did not know the reading of **E**, suggested πρὸ τοῦ which is closer to πρῶτον but results in an inelegant repetition of the phrase.

3.23.2 (p. 89.5) "τί δὲ δὴ γενναῖον εἰργάσθαι **φήσεις; ἦ** τὸ περιβεβληκέναι Μαλέαν τε καὶ Σούνιον χαλινώσας ἐκφερομένην τὴν ναῦν κτέ."

φήσεις; ἦ Jones : φήσεις, ἢ **A E F**

In all editions before Jones there is either a comma or no punctuation at all after φήσεις, and ἢ is written with a grave accent. In this presentation the question should be regarded as an ellipse of Τί ⟨ἄλλο⟩ ἤ. However, while there are numerous instances of *τί ἄλλο ἤ* in Philostratus I have not found a parallel for such an elliptical construction. Therefore I accept Jones' punctuation and accentuation. Cf. KG 2.526: "So oft, wenn der Redende (...) eine vorausgehende Frage selbst durch eine zweite Frage vermutungsweise beantwortet". This works well in our passage.

3.24.2 (p. 89.25) λέγουσι δὴ μελεδωνοὶ μὲν εἶναι λῃστῶν, δεῖσθαι δέ μου μὴ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸ τὴν ναῦν ἐλεῖν, μηδὲ ἐς **ἄστυ** ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὁπότε ἐκεῖθεν **ἄροιμι**, ἀλλ' ὑφορμίσασθαι τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ.

ἄστυ] βαθὺ Madvig ‖ ἄροιμι **A E F** : ἄραιμι Cobet

The agents of the pirates tell the captain not to set sail for "the city" but to anchor off the headland. Madvig probably was dissatisfied with ἄστυ because he wished to know which city was meant and this must have been his motive for suggesting reading βαθύ instead. I assume that he regards βαθύ as the equivalent of Latin *altum*, "the open sea". This would suit the context perfectly but although the adjective βαθύς can be used for water (e.g. θάλασσα, κῦμα) I have not found cases of substantivated βαθύ for "the open sea". And thus Madvig's conjecture must be discarded.

I think that the answer to the question of which city is mentioned is given by the fact that Apollonius in his former life used to be the captain of an Egyptian ship (3.23.1 [p. 88.23–24]). According to LSJ s.v. ἄστυ II.3 in Egypt ἄστυ indicates Alexandria, just as it is used for Athens in an Attic context. They refer to St.Byz. 1.505 s.v. ἄστυ: ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἄστυ ἐκλήθη εἴρηται. Where the harbour is situated from which he sets sail is anybody's guess but that Alexandria may have been his destination is not improbable.

Cobet 1859, 123 rejects the transmitted ἄροιμι as "barbarum". There are three cases of the active first person singular of the aorist optative of *verba liquida* in *VA*: 6.12.1 [p. 196.27] βασκήναιμι, 6.21.2 [p. 206.9] ὑπεράραιμι, 8.12.1 [p. 284.7] ὑπομείναιμι; in all three cases the transmission unanimously has -αιμι. Even so I have not dared to print Cobet's conjecture, for fear of correcting the author. And after all it is not impossible

that Philostratus intended αροιμι to be interpreted as an optative of the future, in which case we should accentuate ἀροῖμι.

3.24.3 (p. 90.4) ἐγὼ δὲ νουθετεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐμαυτῷ ἡγούμην δείσας μὴ ἀπογνόντες ἐμβάλωσι μετεώρῳ τῇ νηΐ καὶ ἀπολώμεθά που τοῦ πελάγους, ὡς δὲ **ὑπούργησα**, ἃ **ἐβούλοντο {μήτ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι}**, ὀμνύναι ἔφην αὐτοὺς δεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀληθεύσειν ταῦτα.

ὑπούργησα] ὑπουργῆσαι ⟨ὑπεσχόμην⟩ Kayser^{1C} Kayser^{2T} : ὑπουργήσειν ⟨ὑπεσχόμην⟩ Jackson : ὑπουργήσων Madvig (et Phillimore) : ὑπήκουσα Jones ‖ ἐβούλοντο {μήτ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι} Jacobs^{5} : ἐβούλοντο μήτ' αὐτὸν ⟨ἐμὲ, μήτ' ἄλλόν τινα, ὧν ἐβουλόμην⟩ ἀποκτεῖναι Reiske^{1} : ἐβούλοντο μήτ' αὐτὸν ⟨ἐμὲ, μήτ' ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν συμπλεόντων (vel ἐμπλεόντων)⟩ ἀποκτεῖναι Reiske^{2}

Taken literally, the phrase ὡς δὲ ὑπούργησα, ἃ ἐβούλοντο means "when I had given them the help they wanted". Kayser probably reasoned that this was unacceptable because the deed itself had not yet been executed. Therefore he proposed reading ὑπουργῆσαι ὑπεσχόμην, probably assuming that ὑπεσχόμην had fallen out due to homoiarcton. But this seems far-fetched.[119]

Madvig and (probably independently) Phillimore suggest reading ὑπουργήσων, "as if consenting to help their designs" (Phillimore). This is ingenious but there are two objections against it. In the first place we would expect ὥσπερ instead of ὡς, as in 5.38.1 (p. 175.4) ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ αἰτήσων "τίνας δέ," εἶπεν "ὦ βασιλεῦ, δωρεὰς δώσεις;" What is more, the words ὡς δέ elsewhere in Philostratus always introduce an auxiliary clause, ὡς serving as a conjunction; with ὑπουργήσων, ὡς δέ introduces an independent clause. — Jones' ὑπήκουσα appears to be too weak. According to LSJ s.v. II.3.a, this word is especially used "of dependents, subjects, etc., *obey, submit to*".[120] To my mind, the transmitted ὑπούργησα is acceptable: in this context "to give help" can easily be understood as "to cooperate" and thus "to promise to give help".

Both Reiske and Jacobs were dissatisfied with the transmitted μήτ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. Jacobs remarks that μήτ' is not preceded or followed by another μήτε, as it should be, and therefore he deletes the words, rightly to my mind. As an explanation for their interpolation Jacobs suggests that they result from parablepsis with the preceding phrase καὶ ὀμνύναι μοι ἐβούλοντο μήτ' αὐτόν με ἀποκτενεῖν, or that μήτ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι was originally a marginal variant reading for μήτ' αὐτόν με ἀποκτενεῖν in that same phrase. I find Jacobs' deletion of μήτ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι more attractive and easier to explain than Reiske's proposals for expanding the text.

119 In the critical note on this passage in the 1870 edition, Kayser states that it might be safer to read ὑπουργήσειν (which was conjectured by Jackson) but he rejected this with a reference to D.H. 6.42.1 ὁ δῆμος (...) ὑπέσχετο συνάρασθαι.

120 Jones' translation of the passage in the 2005 edition, "So after promising to do the service they wished", is probably based on Kayser's text because it does not express what his own Greek text says. In the 2012 edition Jones' translation runs "So after agreeing to what they wanted"; "agree" is an acceptable rendering of ὑπακούειν.

3.25.3 (p. 91.8) τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τετράπηχυ ἦν, ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐῴκει **πεντηκοντούτῃ** καὶ τρόπον Ἀργολικὸν ἔσταλτο κτέ.

πεντηκοντούτῃ **A F** : πεντηκοντούτει **E** (ci. Jackson)

The declension of adjectives indicating age, ending in -κονταέτης or -κοντούτης,[121] is very irregular. In the singular, in earlier Greek these words always follow the paradigm of ἀληθής; some instances: Mimn. fr. 6.2 West ἑξηκονταέτη, Simon. fr. 14.2 West ὀγδωκοντέτει, Pl. *R.* 460e7 πεντεκαιπεντηκοντέτους. In later Greek third declension forms alternate with first declension forms, following the paradigm of πολίτης; some instances: Gal. 10.971.7 Kühn ἑξηκοντούτου, App. *Mith.* 583 τεσσαρακονταετοῦς, Syrian. *in Hermog.* p. 86.9 Rabe ὀγδωκονταέτει, Procl. *in Prm*. p. 1221.14 Cousin (= 3.247.3 Steel) τριακοντούτῃ, Artem. 2.70 ἐνενηκονταετῆ, D.C. 69.17.2 ἐνενηκοντούτην, ὀκτωκαιδεκέτην. In the plural, the nominative always ends in -εῖς in Classical and Hellenistic Greek, e.g. Th. 2.2.1 τριακοντούτεις; in later Greek, both declensions occur side by side: Lucianus *Herm.* 48 ὀγδοηκοντούτεις, Gal. 6.329.10 Kühn ἑβδομηκοντοῦται. The earliest attestations of the dative plural, both following the first and the third declension, are in Galen: Gal. 9.754.6 Kühn τριακονταέτεσι, Gal. 17a.669.7 Kühn τοῖς ἑξηκοντούταις. For the accusative plural we find the forms of both declensions from classical times onward: Th. 1.23.4 τριακοντούτεις, Pl. *R.* 539a8 τριακοντούτας.

Philostratus always has forms of the first declension: *VA* 6.20.5 (p. 205.8) ἑξηκοντούταις, *Her.* 37.5 and 40.3 (p. 52.20 and 54.2 De Lannoy) τριακοντούτην; *VS* 2.4.23.7 (p. 82.16 Stefec) ἑβδομηκοντούτην; 2.5.28.2 (p. 88.11 Stefec) ἑξηκοντούτην. Therefore we can be certain that in our passage the archetype had what Philostratus wrote: πεντηκοντούτῃ.

3.25.3 (p. 91.12–13) ὅ τι μὲν οὖν ἡγοῦνται αὐτὸ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πίνουσι, δηλώσω αὐτίκα. πλὴν ἀλλὰ ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ τὸν Τάνταλον **{μὴ} τῇ ⟨μὲν⟩ γλώττῃ ἐφέντα**, κοινωνήσαντα δὲ ἀνθρώποις τοῦ νέκταρος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐλαύνεσθαι, θεοῖς δὲ μὴ διαβεβλῆσθαι αὐτόν.

{μὴ} τῇ ⟨μὲν⟩ γλώττῃ ἐφέντα scripsi : μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ ἐφέντα **A E F**

The collocation τῇ γλώττῃ ἐφίημι is also found in *VS* 2.10.38.3 (p. 97.7–8 Stefec) ἐφιεὶς τῇ γλώττῃ which is translated as "giving the rein to my tongue" by Wright (Loeb edition), a sense which suits the context perfectly. In our passage most translators take the phrase μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ ἐφέντα in exactly the opposite sense. Some instances: "quod linguam non continuerit" (Westermann), "who could not hold his tongue" (Phillimore), "weil er seine Zunge nicht zügeln konnte" (Mumprecht), "omdat hij zijn mond niet hield" (Mooij).[122] It is remarkable that all these translators have gone astray. Conybeare's

121 There are two occurrences of -κοντέτης: Ar. *Eccl.* 982 ὑπερεξηκοντέτεις and Arist. *HA* 576a30 τριακοντετής.

122 Jacobs' translation "weil er seine Zunge nicht mäßigte" is based on ὑφέντα, the reading of the editions before Kayser's.

translation is unclear to me: "In any case, however, we must suppose that Tantalus was assailed by the poets for not giving rein to his tongue, but because he shared the nectar with mankind". This has the merit of doing justice to the Greek but the meaning is the opposite of what we expect: it would be very strange if the poets blamed Tantalus for *not* being insolent. There appears to be an error in Conybeare's translation: I suppose that "for not" should be replaced by "not for" (which leads to the same interpretation as Jones', which is mentioned hereafter). Finally, here is Jones' translation: "Now we not must suppose that it was his loose tongue, but his giving mankind a taste of nectar, that made the poets attack Tantalus." This is a possible, though not very plausible, rendering of the Greek, with δέ used for ἀλλά (for which see Denniston 1954, 166–168, Schmid 4.549–550).

But do we have the authentic text? I don't think so. Two crimes by Tantalus are mentioned in Iarchas' tale: his giving nectar to his friends and his rash tongue. Philostratus makes Iarchas refer to the second crime by mentioning the stone which hangs above Tantalus' head. The full story is told in Ath. 7.14. When Zeus gave Tantalus the opportunity to make a wish Tantalus wished to live the same life as the gods. Zeus was annoyed with this wish but he complied with it all the same, bound by his oath. In order to prevent Tantalus from enjoying his god-like life he hung a stone above his head. So there are two crimes (giving nectar to others and being insolent) and two punishments (being bereft of food and drink and having a stone hanging above his head). In Conybeare's and Jones' interpretation (which are the only ones which do justice to the transmitted text) the poets take Tantalus to task for only one of these crimes but why they would do so is a riddle.

I suppose that there is something wrong with μή and I guess that it is a corruption of an original μέν. With μέν the poets blame Tantalus for both his alleged crimes, which is exactly what we expect. But if we just replace μή by μέν the position of μέν is impossible: if μέν serves to introduce the first offence we would rather have it after the article τῇ. Therefore I have transposed it. My explanation is as follows: first μέν was corrupted to μή; then μή was transposed before τῇ because the word order τῇ μὴ γλώττῃ ἐφέντα is impossible. — Alternatively, we might just bracket μή.

Incidentally, it may be noted that the scribe of Laur.69.26 was aware of the problems in this passage, witness the reading ὑφέντα, which he probably took to mean something like "subdue"; cf. LSJ s.v. III.1 "Med. and Pass., *lower one's sails*". But then the construction of the active participle with the dative seems to be impossible. Moreover, the phrase τῇ γλώττῃ ἐφίημι, as we already saw, is paralleled elsewhere in Philostratus.

3.26.2 (p. 91.26) "καὶ τράπεζα" ἔφη "παρακείσεται ἥκοντι;" "νὴ Δία," **εἶπεν** "παχεῖά τε καὶ πάντα ἔχουσα, ὁπόσα ἐνταῦθα."

εἶπεν] εἶπον Westermann

In this chapter there is a striking alternation of singular and plural *inquit* formulas introducing what Iarchas says and what the Indians say respectively. In the first occurrence, ὁ Ἰάρχας ἔφη (l. 19), the subject is expressed; in all further occurrences there is no expressed subject: ἔφασαν (l. 24) ... εἶπεν (l. 26) ... ἔφασαν (p. 92.2) ... ἔφη (l. 5). The final ἔφη, standing at the very end of a long sentence, picks up the preceding ἔφασαν. In view of this bewildering alternation I think it best to accept the transmitted singular εἶπεν and to abstain from normalizing the text with Westermann's conjecture. The sequence then is: ὁ Ἰάρχας ἔφη ... (οἱ Ἰνδοὶ) ἔφασαν ... (ὁ Ἰάρχας) εἶπεν ... (οἱ Ἰνδοὶ) ἔφασαν ... (ὁ Ἰάρχας) ἔφη: this is Philostratus *in optima forma*.

3.27.2 (p. 92.17) (...) προσδεξαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο **μάλιστα** ἀσμένως τρίποδες μὲν ἐξεπορεύθησαν Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες αὐτόματοι κτέ.

μάλιστα **A** : μάλα **F** : μᾶλα **E**

In Philostratus I have found only one passage where μάλιστα modifies a series of adjectives: *VS* 2.1.13.3 (p. 72.6–8 Stefec) ἐπειδὴ καλοὶ μάλιστα καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν γενναῖοί τε καὶ φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτῷ τροφῇ πρέποντες; it is noteworthy that here μάλιστα is placed after the first adjective it modifies.[123] There are numerous instances where Philostratus uses μάλα to modify an adjective or adverb. For μάλιστα with the positive see KG 1.24–25.

3.28.1 (p. 93.12) "τί δ' ἄλλο γε" εἶπεν "ἢ ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος;" "**οὐδὲν" ἔφη "ξένον** εἴρηκας ἀσπαζόμενον ἐπιτήδευσιν, ἢ μηδὲ ἐκείνῳ ξυνεχώρησε γενναίῳ γενέσθαι."

οὐδὲν ἔφη ξένον] οὐδεν⟨ὸς⟩ ⟨ἄξιον⟩ ἔφη ⟨τὸν⟩ ξένον Phillimore

The king's answer to Iarchas' remark that Apollonius has the same profession as Phraotes, "οὐδὲν" ἔφη "ξένον εἴρηκας ἀσπαζόμενον ἐπιτήδευσιν", has caused trouble. The older translators take the phrase οὐδὲν ξένον εἴρηκας as meaning something like "you have stated that our guest is a worthless man": "nihili ergo esse hospitem ais" (Olearius), "Damit gibst du dem Fremden ein schlechtes Lob" (Jacobs), "it is no great compliment you have paid him" (Conybeare). Olearius defends this interpretation by referring to the expression οὐδὲν λέγεις, "you are talking nonsense", but he acknowledges that here the phrase is used "paulo aliter, ut nempe ad ξένον, non ad εἶπες [*sic*] referatur". Phillimore must have realized that the Greek simply does not admit of this interpretation, if only because of the absence of the article. Because he wished to maintain the current interpretation of the phrase he conjectured οὐδενὸς ἄξιον τὸν ξένον εἴρηκας.

123 In *VA* 6.21.6 (p. 208.3) διεσπάσθη μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, ᾗ μάλιστα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, the adverb μάλιστα expresses that the sea power is the most deterrent weapon, that is, it is a "real" superlative whereas in our passage we are dealing with an elative.

Jones interprets the phrase quite differently: "What you say is nothing strange"; he is followed by Mooij, "Je hebt niets gezegd wat ik niet al dacht". This is a perfectly acceptable interpretation of the phrase *οὐδὲν ξένον*, for which compare e.g. Lucianus *Laps.* 16 *Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην τινὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος ἀπολογίαν εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν ξένον, εἰ πάνυ ἐσπουδακὼς κτέ*, Hdn.Gr. 3.2.575 Lentz *οὐδὲν δὲ ξένον, εἰ δύο συλλαβῶν γέγονεν ἀποκοπή*. Reiske must have understood the phrase in the same way, witness his addition of *εἰρηκώς* or *εἰπών* which smoothes out the syntax; the text as it stands, however, is in accordance with Philostratus' usual conciseness. With regard to the construction of *ἀσπαζόμενον* Donald Mastronarde has plausibly suggested to me that "Philostratus combines the idiom *οὐδὲν ξένον λέγειν*, usually self-standing, with the idiomatic use of two accusatives with *λέγειν*, internal and external, as in *κακὰ λέγειν* with acc. of the person who is slandered or vituperated". In this context, the king means to say that he is not surprised to learn that Apollonius practices philosophy: probably he had already concluded this from Apollonius' shabby appearance. The text is sound.

3.28.1 (p. 93.17) *τὸν μὲν γὰρ χρόνον, ὃν μειράκιον ἦσθα, ξυνεχώρει σοι ἡ νεότης τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς ἄνδρας ἐξαλλάττεις ἤδη, φειδώμεθα τῶν ἀνοήτων τε καὶ* **εὐκόλων**.

εὐκόλων] εὐτελῶν Richards

Richards 1909, 106 argues that εὐκόλων "is mere nonsense in this context". He suggests εὐτελῶν, referring to Men. fr. 800 Körte-Thierfelder *ἐγὼ δ' ἀνόητος, εὐτελὴς ὑπερβολῇ*. But εὔκολος is occasionally used in a negative sense (LSJ s.v. I.4) and there is a striking parallel for our passage in Jo. Chrys. *in Matth.* 58.737.20 Migne *Καὶ πρῶτον πέλαγος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὸ τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας, πολὺν ἔχον τὸν σάλον διὰ τὸ ἀνόητον, διὰ τὴν εὐκολίαν, διὰ τὸ μὴ πεπηγέναι*.

3.28.2 (p. 93.19) *ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἑρμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα "σοὶ δὲ τί," ἔφη "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ μὴ φιλοσοφῆσαι δέδωκεν;" "ἐμοὶ* **δὲ** *ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν καὶ τὸ εἶναί με τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἡλίῳ."*

δὲ] δὴ Richards

At first sight, δέ might seem strange here but I think it fits well into Denniston's category of "apparently superfluous δέ", namely in answers to second questions (Denniston 1954, 171) although the situation here is atypical. Apollonius' question to the king, what his not philosophizing had brought him, is a sequel to the exchange between Iarchas and the king in which the latter stated that philosophizing has brought Phraotes no good at all. By using δέ in his answer to Apollonius' question the king contrasts himself with Phraotes.

3.29 (p. 94.2) ἀκούσας γὰρ ἐπαινεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φραώτου τῆς τε **ὑπ⟨ερ⟩οψίας** ἐπελάθετο καὶ ὑφεὶς τοῦ τόνου "χαῖρε," ἔφη "ἀγαθὲ ξένε."

ὑπ⟨ερ⟩οψίας Bentley (et Reiske[1/2]) : ὑποψίας **A E F**

The behaviour of the king is much better characterized by contempt (ὑπεροψία) than by suspicion (ὑποψία) and Bentley's conjecture (which was repeated by Reiske) deserves to be accepted, as Jones does. Kayser[1] (note ad loc. on p. 184) rejects it, referring to Th. 2.37.2 ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.42 donec suspecta seuero | conticuit lyra, and Tac. *Ann*. 1.2 suspecto senatus populique imperio. But none of these passages is a real parallel for our passage. In *VA* there are three more occurrences of ὑπεροψία.

3.29 (p. 94.4–5) "τίς σε" ἔφη "πρὸς ἡμᾶς **ἦγεν**;" "οὗτοι" εἶπεν "οἱ **θε⟨ῖ⟩οί** τε καὶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες."

ἦγεν **E F** : ἤγαγεν **A** ‖ θε⟨ῖ⟩οί Scaliger (et Huet Hamaker Cobet) : θεοί **A E F** Tz.

The aorist might seem to be the obvious aspect in phrases of this type but in fact there are numerous instances of the imperfect ἦγε(ν) πρός which clearly refer to completed states of affairs. Some instances: Th. 7.69.3 ἦγε τὸν πεζὸν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, X. *Hell.* 4.5.10 τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ἦγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα, Plu. *Cam.* 35.1 εὐθὺς ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν πρὸς τὸ Σούτριον. In *VA* there are five instances of ἤγαγε(ν); remarkably enough these are all used metaphorically, such as 1.13.2 (p. 12.26) ἐς πειθὼ ἤγαγε. For the metaphorical use of the imperfect see *VA* 4.33 (p. 134.16–17) οὕτως μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπῆγε τοῦ μήτε θρασεῖς μήτε δειλοὺς ὀφθῆναι. A parallel for the imperfect ἦγε(ν) πρός in the literal meaning is found in 1.20.1 (p. 20.17–18) ὁ τελώνης ὁ ἐπιβεβλημένος τῷ Ζεύγματι πρὸς τὸ πινάκιον ἦγε. And so I have printed ἦγεν in our passage.

Kayser wants to maintain the transmitted θεοί, referring to 3.18 (p. 85.17–18) πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο, τίνας αὐτοὺς ἡγοῖντο, ὁ δὲ "θεοὺς" εἶπεν, ἐπερομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τί, "ὅτι" ἔφη "ἀγαθοί ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι." But this can hardly count as a parallel for our passage where we expect the repetition of the article before σοφοὶ ἄνδρες and where it might be better if τε was absent. For the combination of θεῖος and σοφός in *VA* see for instance 6.19.5 (p. 203.16–17) θεῖος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφός. The conjecture was made no less than four times independently, the first time by Scaliger.[124]

3.30.3 (p. 95.1) εἰ δέ γε ἀριστίνδην ἢ καὶ κατὰ ψῆφον ᾑροῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας, **οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον παραπλησίως;**

οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον παραπλησίως; Jackson : οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον παραπλησίως· **A** : ἡμάρτανον παραπλησίως· (absque οὐκ ἂν) **E F** : οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον; παραπλησίως· Kayser[1/2]

124 Jones ascribes it to Westermann, who, however, does not claim to be the πρῶτος εὑρετής. Westermann must have found it in Kayser's note on the passage (1844 edition, p. 184).

Iarchas argues that the system of appointing the Olympic Judges of the Hellenes is totally wrong. He first states that appointment by lot makes it possible that an incompetent man is chosen. Next he argues that it is wrong to have a fixed number of ten judges, even if the appointment takes place in an acceptable manner, namely by virtue of competence or by election. The transition from the first objection to the second is made in the sentence εἰ δέ γε ἀριστίνδην ἢ καὶ κατὰ ψῆφον ᾑροῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον παραπλησίως; The problems concern the apodosis οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον παραπλησίως. The older editions follow **E F** in reading ἡμάρτανον παραπλησίως, without οὐκ ἄν, which results in an *irrealis* without ἄν. In itself this is not impossible in Philostratus (cf. Schmid 4.89–90) but if this were the authentic reading the interpolation of οὐκ ἄν in **A** is hard to account for. Kayser was the first editor to read οὐκ ἄν with **A**; he punctuates οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον; παραπλησίως·, which is rendered by Phillimore as "would there have been nothing amiss? It is much the same". Jackson suggests punctuating οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον παραπλησίως;, "wouldn't they be equally wrong?" The following sentence, starting with ὁ γὰρ τῶν δέκα ἀριθμός, then means, "Yes, for etc." (cf. Denniston 1954, 73–74). This is much more attractive than Kayser's punctuation which results in an answer consisting of one word, παραπλησίως, followed by an explanatory γάρ-sentence. Jones follows Jackson in omitting a punctuation mark before παραπλησίως but after παραπλησίως he prints a colon instead of a question mark, translating "they would err, but not in the same way", which seems less attractive to me. As to the contents of the phrase, Iarchas is not so much interested in the different manners themselves in which the Greeks do wrong but in the fact that they err in two respects. Therefore I have adopted Jackson's punctuation.

3.31.1 (p. 95.8) πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο (sc. ὁ βασιλεύς) ὑπὲρ τοῦ σπουδάζοιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος "διαλεγόμεθα **μὲν** ὑπὲρ μεγάλων καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμωτάτων κτέ."

post μέν fort. supplendum ἔφη vel εἶπεν

It is remarkable that Apollonius' answer to the king's question has no *inquit* formula. I have checked all occurrences of ἤρετο in *VA*. There are 23 passages that have the same structure as our passage: ἤρετο ..., ὁ δέ ... . In all these passages we find either ἔφη (15×) or εἶπε(ν) (8×) in the answer. Thus it is possible that an *inquit* formula has fallen out in our passage. The best candidate is ἔφη: it occurs twice as often as εἶπε in contexts of these type and the next remark by the king has the *inquit* formula εἶπεν. As there are 24 occurrences of "... μὲν" ἔφη in *VA*, it would be best to assign it the same position here. For omissions of *inquit* formulas in mss. of *VA* see e.g. 1.9.2 (p. 9.21) ἔφη om. **E**; 3.23.2 (p. 88.25) εἶπεν om. **E**; 6.17 (p. 201.16) ἔφη om. $\mathbf{A}^{\text{acl}}$ $\mathbf{E}^{\text{acl}}$; 6.18 (p. 201.24) ἔφη om. **A**; 7.36.4 (p. 252.18) εἶπε om. **FQ**; 7.36.4 (p. 252.19) ἔφη om. **F**.

On the other hand there are passages without an *inquit* formula; see for instance 5.23 (p. 161.25), 6.20.3 (p. 204.17), 7.20.3 (p. 239.5), 7.42.4 (p. 257.3). Therefore I have refrained from adding ἔφη or εἶπεν in the present passage.

3.31.2 (p. 95.20) "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη "ὦ βασιλεῦ, δοῦλος **μὲν** Ἀθηναίων Ξέρξης ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀποπέφανται καὶ ὡς κακὸς δοῦλος ἀποδρᾶναι αὐτούς."

μὲν **A E F** : εἶναι Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}

Kayser does not explain his motives for reading εἶναι instead of the transmitted μέν but I assume that he took offence at what he probably regarded as μέν *solitarium* and that he wanted to have an infinitive construction parallel to the following infinitive ἀποδρᾶναι. As to the first issue, Denniston 1954, 374 mentions the combination μέν ... καί as an alternative for μέν ... δέ, especially when the second element merely expresses addition, which is the case in our passage too so that there is no μέν *solitarium* here. And the transition from ἀποπέφανται with a predicate expressed by a noun to ἀποπέφανται accompanied by an infinitive need not bother us in Philostratus. Therefore I accept the transmitted text.

3.31.3 (p. 95.26–27) ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ **Ξέρξου** θεωρῶν ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ, καθ' ἣν ἐστράτευσεν, **ἡγοῦμαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξίως δοξασθέντα** ἐνίοις, ὅτι Ζεὺς **ᾖει**, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ φυγῇ κακοδαιμονέστατον ἀνθρώπων ὑπείληφα.

Ξέρξου **A E F** : Ξέρξην Par.1696^{2pc} (ci. Reiske$^{1/2}$) : ⟨τὰ⟩ Ξέρξου Kayser^{2} : locus dubius ‖ ἡγοῦμαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξίως **A E** : ἡγοίμην ἂν αὐτὸν ἀναξίως **F** : ἡγοίμην ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξίως Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : ἡγοῦμαι {ἂν} αὐτὸν ἀξίως vel ἡγοῦμαι αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀναξίως Westermann (illud et Jackson) ‖ δοξασθέντα **A E F** : δοξασθῆναι Kayser^{2} ‖ ᾖει **A** : εἴη **E F**

The genitive Ξέρξου is difficult to construe. The simplest solution is to change it into an accusative, as was done by Joannes Catrares in Par.1696 and by Reiske independently. The other solution is to add something from which the genitive depends and this is what Kayser has done by adding τά, for which compare, e.g., τὰ Ἑλλήνων in 3.31.1 (p. 95.10); but the phrase "Xerxes' deeds" does not fit well with ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ, which refers to the man himself and not to his deeds. However, I wonder whether the transmitted text may not represent one of those cases in which Philostratus strains the rules of normal Greek syntax. The construction here may well be a contamination of θεωρεῖν τινος followed by an *accusativus rei* or by an auxiliary clause on the one hand (for which see KG 1.361–363) and θεωρεῖν τινα with a complementary constituent, in this case ἐπί with the dative, on the other hand. Alternatively, θεωρῶν ἐπί might be a variant of θεωρῶν περί, "*speculate, theorize*" (LSJ s.v. III.d). Thus I have retained the transmitted text, albeit with some doubts. If the text needs to be corrected I find Ξέρξην preferable to ⟨τὰ⟩ Ξέρξου.

There are two problems in the phrase ἡγοῦμαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξίως δοξασθέντα: what to do with ἄν, and how to construe the participle. Kayser solved the two problems *more magistri*: he turned the indicative ἡγοῦμαι into an optative and changed the participle into an infinitive. The first might seem to be attractive at first sight but the potential optative ἡγοίμην ἄν is a poor match to the indicative ὑπείληφα and therefore I follow Westermann and Jackson in retaining ἡγοῦμαι. Westermann and Jackson agree in delet-

ing ἄν;[125] Westermann retains the transmitted δοξασθέντα, Jackson states nothing about δοξασθῆναι and so he probably accepts it; Jones deletes ἄν and accepts Kayser's δοξασθῆναι. To start with the latter problem: after *verba sentiendi* we expect the accusative and infinitive but it is hard to see how an authentic δοξασθῆναι should have been replaced by δοξασθέντα and therefore I agree with Westermann that we have to accept the accusative and participle here. Moreover, KG 2.72 note that the verbs δοκιμάζειν and ὁμολογεῖν can be followed by a participle construction.

Without ἄν, the phrase means "Xerxem merito a quibusdam pro Jove habitum esse censeo" (Westermann), "that some people were not wrong to regard him as a second Zeus" (Jones); this is hard to swallow because it implies that Apollonius himself also regarded Xerxes as a second Zeus, which can hardly be the case. What he means to say is that he does not find it strange that some people regarded Xerxes as Zeus and therefore ἄν, which belongs to δοξασθέντα, cannot be dispensed with. And so I believe that we have to accept the transmitted text. But I readily admit that the wording is very strange.

With εἴη the clause just means that some people regarded Xerxes as Zeus. This is possible but it is a bit tame. **A**'s ᾖει adds flavour to the phrase: "that Zeus was marching". This might also explain the remarkable construction of the ὅτι-clause following ἡγοῦμαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξίως δοξασθέντα.[126] Moreover, it is more likely that an authentic ᾖει was corrupted into the homophonous εἴη than the other way round. For the imperfect in a subordinate clause of this type cf. the note on 3.16.4 (p. 84.8).

3.32.2 (p. 96.26) (...) λόγων δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν (**πλεῖστοι** δ' οὗτοι τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους) ἐμπλήσω σε λοιπὸν χαίροντα, ὁπότε ἀφίκοιο.

πλεῖστοι] ἥδιστοι Radermacher

The transmitted πλεῖστοι is perfecty acceptable. Iarchas means to say that there is an inexhaustible supply of Greek stories. Radermacher's ἥδιστοι is superfluous because the king has already been convinced by Apollonius himself that the Greeks are an admirable people.

3.34.2 (p. 97.24) (...) ἤρετό τε ἐκ τίνων ξυγκεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἡγοῖντο, οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν "**στοιχείων**."

στοιχείων **E F** : ἐκ στοιχείων **A**

For the omission of the preposition in answers to questions containing a preposition see KG 1.551. The presence of ἐκ in **A** is easily explained as a simplification. Among the

125 Jones attributes the deletion of ἄν to Jackson, who made the same conjecture independently. Jones' translation "I can believe" appears to render Kayser's ἡγοίμην ἄν.

126 For the equation of Xerxes and Zeus Philostratus probably thinks of Hdt. 7.56.2.

instances quoted by KG is Pl. *Prt*. 355c8–9 "Ὑπὸ τίνος;" φήσει. "Τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ," φήσομεν νὴ Δία.

3.34.3 (p. 98.5) καὶ ὥσπερ χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν ἔργον πεποίηται ἡ τοῦ ζῴου κίνησις **καὶ ὁ ἐν** αὐτῷ νοῦς, ὑφ' οὗ ὁρμᾷ, οὕτως ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου νοῦν ἐπιτήδεια παρέχειν αὐτὰ τοῖς τικτομένοις τε καὶ κυομένοις πᾶσι.

καὶ ὁ ἐν Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : καὶ ὅθεν **A E F** : καὶ ἔνδοθεν Olearius : κἄνδοθεν Westermann

The transmitted καὶ ὅθεν αὐτῷ νοῦς is flatly impossible. Olearius' ἔνδοθεν is ingenious because it saves the transmitted ὅθεν. But the article is indispensable here because it serves to indicate that ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἔνδοθεν αὐτῷ) is an attribute of νοῦς. Kayser's conjecture consists in the removal of one single letter; the θ may result from dittography of the omicron or the epsilon. Jackson expresses some doubts about ὁ ἐν ("Kayser's ὁ ἐν for ὅθεν hardly meets the case satisfactorily, and yet it is difficult to find an alternative") but I see no objections against it. The subject of the phrase is ἡ τοῦ ζῴου κίνησις; the predicate (with πεποίηται as copula) consists of χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν ἔργον and ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ νοῦς. The mind gives the impulse which makes the hands and feet do their job; the result is the movement of the living creature; this is analogous to the mind of the universe which makes the parts of the universe do their job, namely to beget and engender new living beings. This is the interpretation of e.g. Olearius, Jacobs and Mumprecht: "Wie die Bewegung des Lebewesens das Resultat der Funktion von Händen und Füßen sowie das Werk des Geistes ist, unter dessen Antrieb es steht (...)" (Mumprecht). A different interpretation is given by among others Conybeare, Phillimore, Jones and Mooij: "for as the movement of an animal dictates the function of its hands and feet, in co-operation with a soul in it by which it is set in motion (...)" (Conybeare). This interpretation does not do justice to the middle/passive πεποίηται; and it is not the movement that causes the work of hands and feet but the other way round.

3.35.2 (p. 98.20) (...) τοίχοις τε ὑπεράραντες καὶ ἱστῷ καὶ πηξάμενοι πλείους **οἴακας {οἴας}** ἐπὶ τῶν σελμάτων κτέ.

οἴακας scripsi praeeunte Jacobs^{6} qui "Steuer" vertit : οἰκίας **A E F** ‖ οἴας del. Reiske^{1} : καὶ Jacobs^{6} ("auch")

The transmitted οἰκίας is usually interpreted as "cabins", and the following οἴας ἐπὶ τῶν σελμάτων as "qualia in tabulatis fieri solent" (Westermann),[127] "like the usual deck-house" (Phillimore) or "such as those over the benches" (Jones). But οἰκία means "house", not "cabin". And the comparison is far from clear: it is strange to illustrate the particular

127 It may well be that Westermann thought of "storeys", which is one of the meanings of *tabulata*. We are then reminded of modern cruise ships.

composition of the Egyptian vessel by means of a comparison with what is usual in normal ships.

All problems disappear when we read οἴακας, "tillers", for the transmitted οἰκίας and delete οἵας. Because the ship is so big it needs more than one set of tillers, which were normally placed at the stern. The extra tillers are attached to the sides of the ship, ἐπὶ τῶν σελμάτων, "at the rowing-benches" (or: "at the deck").[128] The increased number of tillers also explains the mention of the πολλοὶ κυβερνῆται in the immediate sequel. Finally, the verb πήγνυμι is appropriate for attaching tillers and oars but not for building houses or cabins. Jacobs' conjecture is also in tune with the whole of the description in which Iarchas is explaining how the world is *ruled*, and not how it is *composed*.

I have not found an explicit mention of the conjecture οἴακας in Jacobs' works but I have reconstructed it from his German translation, "fügen auch auf dem Verdecke mehrere Steuer an". This makes one suspect that, in addition to changing οἰκίας into οἴακας, Jacobs wished to read καί for οἵας. At any rate, the comparison with rowing-benches is absent from Jacobs' translation. The deletion of οἵας was anticipated by Reiske[1] and indeed the word cannot be retained. It may originate from a variant reading οἰκίας/οἴακας.

3.35.2 (p. 98.22) (...) πολλοὶ μὲν κυβερνῆται τῆς νεὼς ταύτης ὑπὸ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τε καὶ σοφωτάτῳ πλέουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ πρῷραν ἄρχοντες **ἀριστ⟨ερ⟩οί** τε καὶ δεξιοὶ ναῦται **{καὶ}** πρὸς ἱστία πηδῶντες.

ἀριστ⟨ερ⟩οί scripsi: ἄριστοί **A E F** ‖ καὶ[2] del. Olearius

Amid the description of the crew of the enormous Egyptian vessel we find the mention of ἄριστοί τε καὶ δεξιοὶ ναῦται, which is taken by all interpreters as "excellent, nimble sailors" (Jones). But what is the point of mentioning that the sailors are excellent and nimble? It goes without saying that the Egyptians picked out the very best men for the crew of this enormous ship. Olearius realized that the ἄριστοί τε καὶ δεξιοὶ ναῦται have no specific tasks which induced him to remove the καί after ναῦται so that the men handling the sails are qualified as ἄριστοί τε καὶ δεξιοί. Kayser[1], in his note on the passage (p. 184), rejects Olearius' removal of καί, stating that these sailors are oarsmen. But if indeed oarsmen were meant we would expect a specific indication of this activity and therefore I believe that Olearius is right in deleting καί.[129]

I suppose that ἄριστοί is a corruption of ἀριστεροί, "left"; with this reading, δεξιοί has its literal meaning, "right". Thus the passage gains much in point: after the specification that there are special commanders at the stem of the ship (in addition to those at the stern) it is pointed out that there are two separate groups of sailors, at the ship's port

128 LSJ s.v. I.1 state that the singular σέλμα is used for the deck of the ship; s.v. I.2 they state that the plural σέλματα means "rowing-benches".

129 Olearius states that the codex Vratislaviensis (nowadays Cracoviensis VIII.16.2) omits καί; Kayser states that this is not true. Because I have not been able to consult the ms. it is impossible to decide who is right.

and starboard, who are handling the sails. The corruption of *ἀριστεροί* to *ἄριστοί* is easily explained, especially in a context where everything described is excellent.

I take τε after *ἀριστ⟨ερ⟩οί* as linking *ἄρχοντες* and *ναῦται*. Donald Mastronarde has tentatively suggested to me that τε may be a corruption of δέ, which is quite possible. On the other hand there is an alternation of δέ and τε in the opening sentence of *VA* (1.1.1 [p. 1.1–4]) Οἱ τὸν Σάμιον Πυθαγόραν ἐπαινοῦντες τάδε ἐπ' αὐτῷ φασιν· ὡς Ἴων μὲν οὔπω εἴη, γένοιτο δὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Εὔφορβος, ἀναβιώη τε ἀποθανών, ἀποθάνοι δὲ ὡς ᾠδαὶ Ὁμήρου, ἐσθῆτά τε τὴν ἀπὸ θνησειδίων παραιτοῖτο καὶ καθαρεύοι βρώσεως, ὁπόση ἐμψύχων, καὶ θῦσαι.

3.35.3 (p. 98.26) τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα καὶ περὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, θεωροῦντες **αὐτὸ** πρὸς τὸ τῆς ναυτιλίας σχῆμα.

αὐτὸ **A E** : αὐτὸν **F**

All the editions read *αὐτόν* but the archetype must have had *αὐτό* because this is the reading of **A** and **E**. To my mind *αὐτό* is superior to *αὐτόν*, which I regard as a conscious correction of the type we find so often in **F**. The reading *αὐτόν* refers to the universe which must be seen in the light of *τὸ τῆς ναυτιλίας σχῆμα*. However, it is the way the cosmos is ruled that is compared to *τὸ τῆς ναυτιλίας σχῆμα* and not the cosmos itself; the cosmos is equated to the ship, the rule of the superior and inferior gods to the steering of the ship by its crew. The archetype's reading *αὐτό* picks up *τοῦτο* at the beginning of the sentence, which in its turn refers to the way the ship is steered.

3.37 (p. 99.12) Ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων **μιᾷ {πρώτῃ} φωνῇ** τὰ εἰρημένα, πάλιν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἤρετο κτέ.

μιᾷ {πρώτῃ} φωνῇ scripsi : μιᾷ πρώτῃ φωνῇ **A** : πρώτῃ φωνῇ **E F** : πρώτῃ ⟨τῇ⟩ φωνῇ Reiske[1] : πρὸς τῇ φωνῇ Kayser[1/2] : λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ vel λαμπρᾷ φωνῇ Valckenaer[2] : πατρῴᾳ φωνῇ Koen

The older editions read *πρώτῃ φωνῇ* with **E F**, interpreting it as "summis laudibus" (Rinuccino) or "priore illa lingua" (Olearius, who believes that this means "Greek"). Koen ingeniously conjectures *πατρῴᾳ φωνῇ*, that is, the Indians uttered their approval in their own language, in contrast to Iarchas, who spoke Greek. Valckenaer's *λαμπρᾷ (τῇ) φωνῇ* has the merit of having a number of parallels in *VS* and *Her.* but the exact phrase *λαμπρᾷ (τῇ) φωνῇ* only occurs in two of these passages (*VS* 2.6.29.4 [p. 88.26 Stefec] and *Her*. 30.2 [p. 38.26 De Lannoy]) and there it refers to the presentation by a speaker and not to the approval expressed by the audience.[130] Kayser's *πρὸς τῇ φωνῇ* means that they praised the contents of Iarchas' speech in addition to his elegant diction.

130 Valckenaer also points to *VS* 2.12.47.7 (p. 104.9 Stefec) *μελιχρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ* and 2.13.48.1 (p. 104.19 Stefec) *παχείᾳ τῇ γλώττῃ*.

The reading of **A**, μιᾷ πρώτῃ φωνῇ, points the way to the authentic reading, μιᾷ φωνῇ, which indicates that the Indians praised Iarchas' speech "with one voice", that is, unanimously (as was only to be expected). Diodorus Siculus was fond of the phrase μιᾷ φωνῇ (11.9.3, 11.26.6, 11.92.4, 16.79.3, 17.33.5, 19.81.2); other occurrences include J. *AJ* 11.332, Plu. *Tim*. 38.6, Lucianus *Nigr*. 14. μιᾷ and πρώτῃ are the cardinal and ordinal numerals for "one", resp. "first"; somehow the two must have got confused in the transmission. Ineke Sluiter has suggested to me that the confusion must be the result of writing μιᾷ as α′. Fortunately, **A** has preserved both readings.

3.38.1 (p. 99.25) (...) καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν ὁ παῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ βαρὺ φθέγγεται καὶ κοῖλον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄνδρες, βλέπει δὲ **ἑτέροις** ὀφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ.

ἑτέροις **A E F** : fortasse ἑτέρου

The demon who possesses the boy has such a strong hold on him that he makes the boy speak with the deep voice of an adult man, by which we must understand the voice of the demon himself. The same goes for the boy's gaze. In the mss. this is expressed by the phrase βλέπει δὲ ἑτέροις ὀφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ. The phrase ἑτέροις μᾶλλον ἤ raises suspicion because "other than" is usually expressed by ἕτερος ἤ. The phrase ἕτερος μᾶλλον ἤ normally means "(an)other rather than"; see for instance D. *Ep.* 3.27 εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ θεραπεύειν ἑτέρους μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντας διδάξετε, "Otherwise you will teach everyone to serve the interests of others rather than those of the people". Therefore I have considered reading ἑτέρου for ἑτέροις, resulting in "and he was looking with someone else's eyes rather than with his own eyes". The corruption of ἑτέρου ὀφθαλμοῖς to ἑτέροις ὀφθαλμοῖς was almost inevitable. However, I have kept the transmitted text because there are parallels for the redundant μᾶλλον; see for instance Ph. *Virt.* 34 οὗτοι πρὸς Ἑβραίους φιλαπεχθημόνως ἔχοντες, οὐδενὸς ἕνεκα ἑτέρου μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβύτατον αἴτιον σέβουσι κτέ; see also *VA* 4.37.1 (p. 137.8–9) παραπέπτωκε γὰρ βάσανος τῶν νέων, ἣ σφόδρα ἐλέγξει τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἕτερόν τι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο πράττοντας.

3.38.3 (p. 100.14) καί τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνασπάσας τοῦ κόλπου ἔδωκεν τῇ γυναικί· ἐπέσταλτο δὲ ἄρα ἡ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸ εἴδωλον ξὺν ἀπειλῇ καὶ **ἐπιπλήξει**.

ἐπιπλήξει Lucarini : ἐκπλήξει **A E F**

Lucarini's ἐπιπλήξει for the transmitted ἐκπλήξει is convincing: ἔκπληξις is what the demon should feel as the result of the Wise Man's ἐπίπληξις. In support of his conjecture Lucarini 2004, 254 points to 4.5 (p. 112.10) and 4.33 (p. 134.9). Further support is supplied by *Gymn*. 20 (p. 271.31–272.1 Kayser = p. 148.31–32 Jüthner) Ὁπόσα δὲ γυμνασταὶ ξυνεβάλοντο ἀθληταῖς ἢ παρακελευσάμενοί τι ἢ ἐπιπλήξαντες ἢ ἀπειλήσαντες ἢ σοφισάμενοι (...). The combination of ἀπειλή and ἐπίπληξις is also found in Gal. *de sanitate tuenda* 6.49.10 Kühn (≈ Orib. *Coll.Med.* libri incerti 35.5) ἐπὶ μέντοι τῶν μειζόνων ἤδη παιδίων, ὅσα καὶ πληγαῖς καὶ ἀπειλαῖς ἐπιπλήξεσί τε καὶ νουθετήσεσι πείθεται, καιρὸς ἂν εἴη διττός.

3.39 (p. 100.23) τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπειδὰν τίκτῃ ἡ γυνή, λαγὼν ὑπὸ κόλπου ζῶντα ἐσφέρεσθαι οὗ τίκτει, καὶ περιελθόντα αὐτὴν ἀφεῖναι ὁμοῦ **τῷ λαγῷ**.

τῷ λαγῷ **A E F** : τὸν λαγὼ Reiske[1] (et Koen) : τὸν λαγωόν Reiske[2] : τὸν λαγών Kayser[2]

Ancient medicine was quite different from modern medicine but among the numerous puzzling pieces of advice given by doctors in Antiquity this one is particularly remarkable. The husband of the wife who had had seven miscarriages is advised to enter the room where his wife is in labour with a living hare under his cloak and to walk around her. But what is he to do next? The mss. unanimously transmit the dative τῷ λαγῷ. Reiske and Koen changed this into the accusative τὸν λαγώ, in which they were followed by Kayser[2], who prints τὸν λαγών as his own conjecture. Jacobs translates "und den Hasen loszulassen", which shows that he also read τὸν λαγώ(ν).

Editors and translators since Kayser accept τὸν λαγών but Jackson protests against it: "Keep τῷ λαγῷ. Ἀφεῖναι is merely 'to leave her'." Jackson is right. The order to release the hare is in flat contradiction with the immediate sequel in which it is stated that the hare should be carried out of the room (ἐξενεχθείη). If the man were to release the hare in the room the hare might do anything but it would hardly be possible to carry it out of the room. Moreover, with τὸν λαγών the word ὁμοῦ is hard to digest. It is supposed to mean "immediately" by modern translators but this can only mean "immediately after" the man has walked around his wife's bed with the hare, whereas ὁμοῦ means "at the same moment as" and not "after". Ἀφεῖναι here means "leave alone", as Jackson states (LSJ s.v. III.1); ὁμοῦ τῷ λαγῷ means "together with the hare": the whole phrase means that the man is to leave his wife alone with the hare still under his cloak. We would be happy to learn whether the advice was successful but we will never know.

3.41.1 (p. 101.9) Τῆς μὲν οὖν διαλεκτικῆς συνουσίας ἄμφω μετεῖχον, τὰς δὲ ἀπορρήτους σπουδάς, αἷς ἀστρικήν **τε** μαντείαν κατενόουν καὶ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἐσπούδαζον θυσιῶν τε ἥπτοντο καὶ κλήσεων κτέ.

τε Olearius : ἤ **A E F** : {ἤ} Kayser[2]

Damis was not allowed to be present at the discussions in which Iarchas told Apollonius about divination and other subjects concerned with the gods. The mss. have ἀστρικὴν ἢ μαντείαν at the beginning of the list of subjects. ἀστρική with the meaning "astronomy" or "astrology" is first found in Tzetzes which makes it unlikely that it is used as a substantivated adjective here. And even if this were possible the disjunctive ἤ is out of place. One might consider replacing ἤ by καί but then the problem of ἀστρική as "astronomy/astrology" remains. It is better to take ἀστρικήν and μαντείαν together, "astral prophecy" (Jones), because of περὶ μαντείας ἀστέρων a few lines further on. And in the following sentence the phrase τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικὴν πᾶσαν also points to a close link between astronomy and divination. Kayser[2] deletes ἤ but I prefer Olearius'

solution to replace it by τε. The reading ἤ is easier to explain as a corruption of τε than as an interpolation.

3.41.2 (p. 101.14–16) τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικὴν πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἡγοῦμαι φύσιν καὶ οὐδ' εἰ κέκτηταί τις οἶδα, τὸ δὲ περὶ θυσιῶν ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς εὗρον, ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πόλεσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν οἴκοις κτέ.
Although there are no variant readings or conjectures in this sentence, which is interpreted in different ways, I believe it deserves to be discussed here. Most translators take the phrase as "Was die Gestirne betrifft, und solcherlei Mantik (Seherkunst) überhaupt, so halte ich sie für einen Gegenstand, der über die menschliche Natur hinausgeht, und ich weiß nicht, ob sie [= the knowledge of these subjects] Jemand besitzt" (Jacobs; similarly Olearius, Westermann, Phillimore, Mumprecht, Mooij). Conybeare and Jones agree with the aforementioned translators for the first part of the sentence, but they take Apollonius' books on astral prophecy, which had been mentioned in the previous sentence (ll. 11–12), as the object of κέκτηται: "and I do not know if anyone owns the work" (Jones). In this way justice is done to the following δέ-clause in which Philostratus states that he has found numerous copies of Apollonius' book on sacrifices. But in Conybeare's and Jones' translation the switch of object is very harsh and therefore I believe that by τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικὴν πᾶσαν we are to understand Apollonius' books. In this respect I follow Reiske[2]: "τὰ μὲν δὴ [scil. συγγράμματα Ἀπολλωνίου] περὶ τῶν ἀστέρων — nam scripta Apollonii his de rebus hic designari, constat ex insequentibus οὐδ' εἰ κέκτηταί τις οἶδα. neque novi an quisquam eos Apollonii commentarios possideat." The statement that these books are ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν, "beyond the scope of human nature", implicitly refers to the godlike stature of Iarchas and Apollonius, who are both designated as θεῖοι ἄνδρες. If Reiske and I are correct in postulating that τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικὴν πᾶσαν refers to Apollonius' books and not to astral prophecy itself the wording is strange. The plural article τά aptly refers to the four books on the subject (note that the singular article τό in the δέ-clause refers to the book on sacrifices) but the juxtaposition of the genitive τῶν ἀστέρων and τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικὴν πᾶσαν is strange. Reiske added περί before τῶν ἀστέρων but even then the following accusative is harsh. In "normal" Greek we would expect something like τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης μαντικῆς πάσης but given the fact that we are dealing with Philostratean Greek I think we must accept the transmitted text.

3.41.2 (p. 101.17) τὸ δὲ περὶ θυσιῶν ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς εὗρον, ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πόλεσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν οἴκοις, **καὶ τί ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύοι** αὐτὸ σεμνῶς συντεταγμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἠχὼ τοῦ ἀνδρός;

καὶ τί ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύοι] καίτοι τίς ἂν ἑρμηνεύοι Reiske[1] : καίτοι οὐκ ἂν ἑρμηνεύοι τις Reiske[2] : καὶ εἰ ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύοι Jacobs[6]

Olearius argues that the book needs to be translated into Greek because it was written in Cappadocian, as is stated in 4.19 (p. 122.18–19) βιβλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίου (...) ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φωνῇ ἐκδιδάσκει. He therefore printed καί τοι, ἄν, taking ἄν as the equivalent of ἐάν. Olearius' conjecture was accepted by Conybeare, who remarks: "Kayser reads: καὶ τί ἄν, which is unintelligible." To this Jackson comments: "A good deal more intelligible than the absurdity printed, which emanates from Olearius." I agree with Jackson: it is nonsense to state that on translating the work one will find out how well it was written. The conjectures by Reiske and Jacobs are based on Olearius' text and do not give a satisfactory meaning either. I accept the transmitted text but I understand it in another way than Jones, who translates: "How could anyone characterize something so loftily composed, and so reminiscent of the Master's style?" (similarly Mooij). I follow Westermann, "(opus) quod quid est cur interpretetur aliquis cum gravitate compositum et solita viri elegantia?", that is, in contrast to the work on astral prophecy, which is beyond normal humans, the work on sacrifice is so crystal-clear that there is no need of an expert to interpret it.

3.43 (p. 102.13–15) ἐπειδὴ γὰρ **πρῶτον** ἐνέτυχον τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τούτῳ καὶ σοφίας μοι ἔδοξε πλέως δεινότητός τε καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ καρτερεῖν ὀρθῶς, **ἔτι** δὲ καὶ μνημοσύνην ἐν αὐτῷ εἶδον, πολυμαθέστατόν τε καὶ φιλομαθείας ἥττω, δαιμόνιόν τί μοι ἐγένετο κτέ.

πρῶτον scripsi : πρώτῳ **A E F** ‖ ἔτι **A** : ἐπεὶ **E F**

The transmitted dative πρώτῳ belongs to τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τούτῳ, which can only mean: "when I met Apollonius here as the first one". Compare 3.18 (p. 85.12–13) "ἡμεῖς" ἔφη "πάντα γινώσκομεν, ἐπειδὴ πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς γινώσκομεν κτέ", and *Ep.* 12 (p. 231.4–6 Kayser) τὰ δὲ ὄμματα, ἐπεὶ πρῶτα συνίησι κάλλους, διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα καὶ καίεται. This would only make sense if Damis went on to tell about a meeting with someone else as the second one, which is not the case here. Read πρῶτον: in later Greek, ἐπεὶ/ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον is used as an equivalent of ἐπεὶ/ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα, "as soon as"; see for instance Lucianus *Anach.* 15 ἐπειδὰν πρῶτον ἄρξωνται συνιέναι τε τοῦ βελτίονος καὶ τῷ σώματι ἀνδρίζεσθαι καὶ ὑφίστασθαι τοὺς πόνους κτέ, D.C. 40.55.1 καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὅ τε Πλάγκος ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξῆλθον κτέ. This is in accordance with the context: when asked whether he had foreknowledge Damis answers: "Yes, as soon as I met Apollonius here I saw that he was the man for me."

The collocation ἔτι δὲ καί occurs frequently in prolonged sentences of this type; see LSJ s.v. II.1, who refer, e.g., to Th. 1.80.3 πρὸς δὲ ἄνδρας οἳ γῆν τε ἑκὰς ἔχουσι καὶ προσέτι θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοί εἰσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄριστα ἐξήρτυνται, πλούτῳ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὄχλῳ ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἑνί γε χωρίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐστίν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξυμμάχους πολλοὺς φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔχουσι, πῶς χρὴ πρὸς τούτους ῥᾳδίως πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καὶ τίνι πιστεύσαντας ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθῆναι; πότερον ταῖς ναυσίν; The reading of **E F** ἐπεί is a perseveration of the preceding ἐπειδή at the beginning of the sentence. A parallel for our passage is furnished by Alex.Aphr. *Febr.* 12.4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα

φυσικὴ δρᾶσις ἢ πεῖσις, ἡ ἐν τῷ γίγνεσθαι τὸ εἶναι ἔχουσα κίνησις, κίνησις δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ, τοῦ δὲ χρόνου τὸ μὲν ἀρχή, τὸ δὲ μέσον, τὸ δ' ἄκρον καὶ ἔσχατον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τἀναντία, ἐν οἷς ἡ κίνησις, ἔμμεσα, πολλῶν ὄντων μεταξὺ τοῖν δυοῖν εἰδῶν τε καὶ ὑποστάσεων, ἀνάγκη κτέ.

3.44 (p. 102.24) Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐγέλασαν οἱ σοφοὶ πάντες, καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ γέλωτος **ἐπανῆγεν** ὁ Ἰάρχας ἐς τὸν περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς λόγον κτέ.

ἐπανῆγεν **A** : ἐπανήγαγεν **E**^{2pc} **F** : ἐπανῆγες **E**^{acuv}

The imperfect is confirmed by two parallel passages in *VA*: 4.40.2 (p. 140.18) ἐπανῆγε δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐς τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τοῦ θείου, and 8.11 (p. 283.27) ἐπανῆγον τὸν λόγον ἐς τὰ πρὸ τῆς δίκης. In 4.40.2 **E** has ἐπανήγαγε; in 8.11 there are no variant readings.

3.44 (p. 103.4–5) (...) καὶ τοὺς ξυνόντας ἐδιδάξατο, τίνας μὲν δεῖ προσάγειν πόας ὑγροῖς ἕλκεσι, τίνας δὲ αὐχμηροῖς καὶ ξηροῖς ξυμμετρίας τε ποτίμων φαρμάκων, **ἀφ'** ὧν ὕδεροι ἀποχετεύονται καὶ αἷμα ἴσχεται φθόαι τε παύονται καὶ **τὰ οὕτω κοινά**.

ἀφ' **A E F** Phot. : ὑφ' Laur.CS.155 ‖ τὰ οὕτω κοινὰ Van Wulfften Palthe (vel τοιαῦτα κοινὰ) : τὰ οὕτω κοῖλα **A E F** : τὰ ὑπόκοιλα Jacobs^{6}

The preposition ἀπό is often found when the effect of medicaments is described. Some instances: Hp. *Mul.* 217.49 Ἢν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτοῦ μὴ προχωρήσῃ κτέ, Ruf. *Ren.Ves.* 1.8 Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ γαστὴρ κενωθῆναι δέοιτο, ἄλλην μὲν κένωσιν μηδεμίαν μηχανᾶσθαι, ὁποῖαι αἱ ἀπὸ φαρμάκων ἐξεύρηνται, Gal. 10.370.14 Kühn ἔτι γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου θερμή, Aret. *SA* 1.7.3 ἀπὸ φαρμάκων ἐμέουσι. Therefore there is no need to replace the transmitted ἀφ' by ὑφ', which Kayser found in Laur.CS.155.

Various attempts have been undertaken to save the transmitted τὰ οὕτω κοῖλα. The most commonly accepted interpretation is that κοῖλα refers to internal diseases. But Philostratus speaks about τὰ οὕτω κοῖλα *tout court*, and not about τὰ οὕτω κοῖλα νοσήματα, as LSJ s.v. κοῖλος I.4 state, translating κοῖλα νοσήματα as "*internal* complaints" (with special reference to our passage). In medical contexts τὰ κοῖλα refers to cavities in the body, such as the eye sockets, the abdomen or the flanks. Jacobs' suggestion τὰ ὑπόκοιλα does not help us because the word means "slightly concave". What we expect is a reference to a disease, not to a bodily part which can be affected by a disease. Van Wulfften Palthe 1887, 65–66 convincingly suggests that κοῖλα is a corruption of an original κοινά. In the preceding part of the sentence, so Palthe argues, a number of well-known diseases and their cure are mentioned. The reading τὰ οὕτω κοινά then refers to other such well-known diseases. The phrase κοινὴ νόσος is found from Hippocrates onward; some instances: Hp. *Flat*. 6 Πρῶτον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοτάτου νοσήματος ἄρξομαι, πυρετοῦ, Ph. *Aet.* 149 ἐπειδὰν δ' αἱ μὲν κοιναὶ νόσοι χαλάσωσιν κτέ, Plu. *Arat*. 52.4 ὡς δή τινα νόσον κοινὴν καὶ συνήθη νοσῶν διήντλει, Gal. 15.121.10 Kühn Ἐλλιπῆ τὴν ἴασιν ἔγραψε τῶν κοινῶν νοσημάτων κτέ.

3.44 (p. 103.7) οὐ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνευ τῆς προγινωσκούσης σοφίας θαρσῆσαί ποτε **ἄνθρωποι** τὰ πάντων ὀλεθριώτατα φαρμάκων ἐγκαταμῖξαι τοῖς σώζουσιν.

⟨ἂν⟩ ἄνθρωποι Radermacher (et Jackson : "θαρσῆσαι needs an ἄν) : praetulerim ⟨ἂν⟩ ἄνευ)

Schmid 4.89–90 discusses a number of irregularities in Philostratus' use of ἄν (see also the following note). Philostratus sometimes omits ἄν where it cannot be dispensed with in Attic, and this is one of these cases.[131] The construction of the sentence is quite similar to the sentence at the beginning of this chapter, where we find (p. 102.26–27) οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τοὺς σοφοὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας ἐς ἐπιστήμην τούτου παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ κτέ. Therefore it is tempting to add ἄν with Radermacher and Jackson but I think it is wisest to accept the anomaly; if one would like to add ἄν I would rather insert it before ἄνευ at the beginning of the sentence.

3.45.1 (p. 103.11) καὶ γὰρ καὶ **κέρδος** εἴη μήτε πιστεύειν μήτε ἀπιστεῖν πᾶσιν.

κέρδος **A E F** : κέρδος ⟨ἂν⟩ Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : ⟨ἂν⟩ κέρδος Scheibe (et Cobet)

In Classical Attic ἄν is obligatory with the potential optative but Schmid 4.89 lists six more passages in Philostratus where it is absent.[132] This is too much of a coincidence and therefore I follow Schmid in accepting the transmitted text here and elsewhere without ἄν. In *Her.* 2.4 (p. 2.29–3.1 De Lannoy) De Lannoy prints the transmitted δοίην without ἄν.

3.45.1 (p. 103.14) "καὶ τίνα" ἔφη "φύσιν τοῦ ζῴου τούτου ἤκουσας; εἰκὸς γὰρ καὶ περὶ εἴδους αὐτοῦ **⟨τι⟩ λέγεσθαι**."

⟨τι⟩ λέγεσθαι Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : διαλέγεσθαι **E F** : λέγεσθαι **A**

Kayser's conjecture hits the mark: it supplies λέγεσθαι with the subject it needs. The corruption can be well explained. First τι λέγεσθαι was corrupted to διαλέγεσθαι, which is impossible because this verb has an active meaning. This was realized by (a predecessor of) **A** who accordingly omitted the preverb δια-.

3.45.1 (p. 103.14) "**λέγεται γὰρ**" εἶπε "μεγάλα καὶ ἄπιστα."

λέγεται γὰρ **A** : λέγεται **E F**

For assentient γάρ in answers in which a word from the preceding question is repeated see Denniston 1954, 88.

131 Schmid 4.89 mentions two instances of an *irrealis* without ἄν, namely *VA* 6.20.5 (p. 205.5) and *Her.* 8.3 (p. 8.30 De Lannoy), but in those cases there is a *verbum finitum*.

132 Schmid also mentions 1.21.2 (p. 22.9) ὡς αὐτὸς βασανισθείης but I take this as a final clause.

3.48 (p. 105.11) τὴν τίγριν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνάλωτον εἶναι μόνην, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τάχος αὐτὴν **ἐσποιεῖ** τοῖς ἀνέμοις.

ἐσποιεῖ] ἴσην ποιεῖ temptanter Scheibe (et Platt) : ἰσοποιεῖ dubitanter Jackson

The general meaning of the passage is clear: tigers are as swift as the winds and therefore they can escape the griffins; but the phrasing is remarkable. In Classical Greek, εἰσποιέω means "give in adoption" (LSJ s.v. I.1). Philostratus uses the verb in this sense in *VA* 5.32.2 (p. 167.22–23) εἰσποιῶν ἑαυτῷ παῖδας τὸν Ὄθωνα καὶ τὸν Πείσωνα. Elsewhere it is used in a loose sense, "to add to", as in *VA* 6.32.2 (p. 215.3) καὶ Νέρωνα μὲν ἐσποιῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄψοις τὸν λαγὼν τοῦτον. LSJ s.v. εἰσποιέω I.3 interpret our passage as "*adopts into the family of* winds, i.e. *makes* it *swift as* the winds", which to me seems a very neat solution. And so I believe there is no need for conjectures.

3.50.1 (p. 105.20) Τοιαίδε αἱ πρὸς τοὺς σοφοὺς συνουσίαι Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐγένοντο κτέ.

τοιαίδε **E F** : τοιαίδε μὲν **A**

When a new sentence starts with a form of οὗτος, τοιοῦτος or τοσοῦτος Philostratus often does not add μέν; see Schmid 4.521, who lists numerous passages. Therefore I regard **A**'s μέν as an interpolation.

3.50.1 (p. 106.2) ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν τὸν **Γάγγην** ἔχων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὸν **Ὕφασιν** κατῄει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἡμερῶν δέκα ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄχθου.

Γάγγην – Ὕφασιν] Ὕφασιν – Γάγγην Olearius

If Apollonius had the Ganges at his right and the Hyphasis at his left he would be travelling north so that he would not arrive at the sea. Moreover, as Olearius points out, the Hyphasis flows into the Indus and does not end in the sea. Therefore I think we have to assume that this is one of the passages where Philostratus gives a garbled account of the geography and to my mind it would be pedantic to transpose the names of the two rivers, as Olearius does.

3.50.2 (p. 106.9) διαλεγόμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων, ὁποῖα εἰώθεσαν, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ᾗ κατεσκεύαστο ἐμπόρια μικρά, καὶ πλοῖα δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὥρμει **πορθμείοις** παραπλήσια τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς.

πορθμείοις Jackson : πορθμεῖα **A E F**

Jackson does not state why he conjectured πορθμείοις for the transmitted πορθμεῖα but I assume that he did so because in the transmitted text πορθμεῖα is added to πλοῖα as if it were an adjective. But πορθμεῖον is always a noun and it is never used in apposition to some other word for ship, such as πλοῖον. Cf. Epiphanius *Panarion* 3.60.2–3 Holl

πλοῖα γὰρ ἤτοι πορθμεῖα εἶναι λέγει τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας. The corruption of πορθμείοις to πορθμεῖα is due to *Echoschreibung* with the immediately following παραπλήσια.

3.51 (p. 106.13) Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰάρχᾳ καὶ **σοφοῖς ἑταίροις** χαίρειν.

σοφοῖς ἑταίροις **E** : σοφοῖς ἑτέροις **A F** : ⟨τοῖς⟩ ἑτέροις σοφοῖς Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : ἑτέροις ⟨τοῖς⟩ σοφοῖς Miller

The words ἕτερος and ἑταῖρος are constantly confused in our manuscripts. Although in this passage the support for ἑταίροις is not very strong I think it is superior to the rather unpersonal ἑτέροις, for which we would rather expect ἄλλοις. Kayser's addition of the article seems superfluous to me: the omission of the article can be explained as being peculiar to the salutation at the beginning of a letter, witness 4.27 (p. 130.4–5) Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις χαίρειν.

3.51 (p. 106.16) μεμνήσομαι τούτων καὶ πρὸς Ἕλληνας κοινωνήσω τε λόγων ὡς **παροῦσιν**, εἰ μὴ μάτην ἔπιον τοῦ Ταντάλου.

παροῦσιν **E F** *Ep.Ap.* : παροῦσιν ὑμῖν **A**

Without ὑμῖν the context makes it sufficiently clear that Apollonius means that he will converse with the Wise Men in their absence. ὑμῖν must have been absent from the common source of the mss. of *VA* and of *Ep.Ap*. The addition of ὑμῖν in **A** is a simplification which may well result from an explanatory gloss. Penella, in his edition of *Ep.Ap.*, adds ὑμῖν.

3.53 (p. 107.8–9) μνημονεύουσι καὶ νήσου μικρᾶς, ᾗ ὄνομα εἶναι Βίβλον, ἐν ᾗ **{τὸ τοῦ κογχυλίου μέγεθος καὶ}** οἱ μύες ὄστρεά τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεκαπλάσια τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ μέγεθος ταῖς πέτραις προσπέφυκεν.

τὸ τοῦ κογχυλίου μέγεθος καὶ del. Kayser^{2} : τὸ τοῦ κογχυλίου μέγεθος del. Olearius

Olearius is right in claiming that τὸ τοῦ κογχυλίου μέγεθος represents an original gloss but he kept the immediately following καί in the text. I follow Kayser in deleting the particle as well; its intrusion can be explained as an attempt to connect the intruded gloss with the authentic οἱ μύες κτέ.

3.54 (p. 107.12) Κατασχεῖν δέ φασι καὶ ἐς **Πηγάδας, Ὠρειτῶν** χώρας κτέ.

Πηγάδας **A E** Phot.**M** : πηγάδα **F** Phot.**A** : Πάγαλα Olearius : Πήγαλας Müller ‖ ὠρειτῶν **A** : ὠρειτῶ **E**^{uv} : τῆς τῶν Ὠρειτῶν **F** : τῆς Ὠρειτῶν Phot. : locus dubius

As to the name of the place where Apollonius and his company arrived at, Olearius remarks that Arrian (*Ind.* 23.1) calls the place Πάγαλα and accordingly he prints Πάγαλα

in his text, pointing out that the reading in the mss. of *VA* may well be due to confusion of capital Δ and Λ. This, however, leaves the *èta* unexplained, which induced Müller to conjecture Πήγαλας.[133] There are no further occurrences of Πήγαλα(ι), Πάγαλα(ι) or Πηγάδα(ι) besides our passage and the passage in Arrian. Olearius and Jones, who accepts Olearius' conjecture, assume that Arrian has the authentic form of the name but this is by no means certain: it is equally possible that Philostratus has the authentic form and that Arrian's text is corrupt. If this should be true, the corruption may be due either to Arrian himself or to a copyist by association with the name Πάταλα, which occurs eighteen times in Arrian's works. But it is also possible that the authors used two different names. It might even be the case that Pagala and Pegadae are two distinct geographical indications, the first a town, the second a region.

As to the articles τῆς τῶν in **F**: the phrase τῆς (τῶν) X χώρας can be used to define a city: see for instance Hdt. 6.26.1 ἐν Κοίλοισι … τῆς Χίης χώρης. But such phrases serve the purpose of disambiguation; Herodotus wishes to make clear that he refers to Koila in Chios and not in Euboia (τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης [Hdt. 8.13, 8.14.1]). In our passage there is no need of disambiguation. We don't even know whether Philostratus is thinking of a town or a region. When mentioning Patala (ch. 53), Stobera (ch. 55) and Balara (ch. 56) Philostratus adds πόλις or ἐμπόριον to the name of the city; there is no such addition to Πηγάδας. In the sequel Philostratus deals with the country of the Oreitae and not with a city. Therefore Πηγάδας Ὠρειτῶν χώρας may well mean "Pegadae, regions of the Oreitae". And thus I have decided to print Πηγάδας, Ὠρειτῶν χώρας but the passage remains open to doubt. I regard τῆς τῶν in **F** as an attempt to smooth out the text, as we find so often in **F**.

3.56 (p. 108.5) κῆποι δὲ ὁπόσοι **τρωκτῶν** καὶ ὁπόσοι ἀνθέων **κῆποι**, βρύειν αὐτὸ καὶ λιμένας μεστοὺς γαλήνης ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι.

κῆποι δὲ – κῆποι] κήποι⟨ς⟩ δὲ ⟨καρπῶν⟩ – κήποι⟨ς⟩ Papabasileiou ‖ τρωκτῶν scripsi : τρωκτοὶ **A E F** ‖ κῆποι post ἀνθέων fortasse delendum

The transmitted reading κῆποι δὲ ὁπόσοι τρωκτοί means "gardens which are eatable", which is patent nonsense. LSJ s.v. τρωκτός I translate the phrase as "*kitchen* gardens", but a garden that produces vegetables cannot be called an eatable garden. The corruption of τρωκτῶν into τρωκτοί is the result of *Echoschreibung*: the sentence has four words ending in -οι. Papabasileiou suggests adding ⟨καρπῶν⟩ before ὁπόσοι τρωκτοί, which results in "the gardens of all types of eatable fruits", but I think that my solution is easier. — In the same sentence I wonder whether the second κῆποι may not be an interpolation, echoing the first κῆποι. But deleting the word might seem to be an attempt to correct the author himself rather than removing an interpolation.

133 Kayser[2], in his critical note to the passage, wrongly reports that Müller proposed Πήγαλα.

3.57.2 (p. 108.21) παριζήσας οὖν ὁ Ἰνδὸς τῷ ὀστρέῳ δέλεαρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μύρον ποιεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἀνοίγνυταί τε καὶ μεθύει ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, κέντρῳ δὲ διελαθὲν **ἀποπνεῖ** τὸν ἰχῶρα, ὁ δὲ ἐκδέχεται αὐτὸν τῇ πλινθίδι τύπους ὀρωρυγμένῃ.

ἀποπνεῖ **A E** : ἀποπτύει **F** Phot.

The account of how pearls are fished by the Indians is one of the most perplexing in the whole of *VA*. The crucial moment in the whole process is when the oyster is pried open and ejaculates its juicy substance, ἰχώρ. The problem which concerns us is which verb is used to express this action. The archetype had ἀποπνεῖ, "evaporates", witness its occurrence in **A** and **E**. **F** has ἀποπτύει, "squirts out". In itself ἀποπτύει is the most obvious verb in this context, because it is always associated with moisture. Even so, I think that ἀποπνεῖ represents the authentic reading. The verb is used frequently to indicate the process of evaporation, such as [Arist.] *Pr.* 927b3 καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ οὖν ἀναλίσκεται τὸ ὑγρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁλός, καὶ ἀποπνεῖ ἔξω. In this absurd story it would not be too absurd to assume that the oyster "evaporates" its juice. But there may be a more plausible explanation, for which a passage in Hippocrates may serve as a model: Hp. *De semine, de natura pueri, de morbis iv*, 25 Ἔχει δὲ οὕτως ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐν ἀσκῷ ὕδωρ ἐνεὸν ἀποπιέσειεν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ παραπνοὴν τῷ ὕδατι ποιήσειε νύγματι βελόνης ἢ μικρῷ μέζονι, καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν κρεμάσας αἰωροίη, οὐδὲν διὰ τοῦ τετρημένου πνεῦμα χωρήσει, ἀλλ᾽ ὕδωρ, οὐ γὰρ ἔχει εὐρυχωρίην ᾗ ἀποπνεύσεται τὸ ὕδωρ· ὧδε δὴ ἔχει καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τῷ ὕδατι ἐν τῇ γῇ. Just as in the Hippocratic passage, the pearlfisher pierces the oyster (which in itself is strange because the oyster had already opened up when smelling the perfume, but let that go). A modern parallel is furnished by a tire which is pierced by a nail or a piece of glass. In this case the oyster "blows out" its juice. And so I have decided to accept this remarkable reading in this remarkable passage.

3.58 (p. 109.11) Καταπλεύσαντες (...) φασὶν (...) ἐπὶ θάλαττάν τε καταβῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ Σελεύκειαν νεώς τε **ἐπιτυχόντες** προσπλεῦσαι Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν Πάφον κτέ.

ἐπιτυχόντες **A**[1sl] : ἐπιτυχόντας **A E F**

The long final sentence of this book depends on φασίν in the first line of the chapter. The nominative and infinitive, starting with the participle καταπλεύσαντες which is the first word of the sentence, at the end makes place for the accusative and infinitive διδαξάμενον (sc. τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον) πλεῦσαι which is embedded in the relative clause οὗ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδος. Although Philostratus' syntax can be very capricious I think that the accusative ἐπιτυχόντας in **A E F** is due to corruption rather than to Philostratus himself. For φασι with an extended nominative and infinitive see, e.g., 2.4 (p. 41.20–21), 3.3 (p. 74.9), 5.14.1 (p. 155.9), 6.26.1 (p. 210.7).

BOOK FOUR

4.1.2[134] **(p. 110.9)** ἐφοίτων καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ξένον τε αὐτὸν **ποιούμενοι** καὶ βίου σύμβουλον βωμῶν τε ἱδρύσεως καὶ ἀγαλμάτων κτέ.

ποιούμενοι Richards : ἡγούμενοι **A E F**

The verb ἡγεῖσθαι with a double accusative can only mean "regard as". In this passage, this would lead to the interpretation "they regarded Apollonius as their guest-friend and as their counsellor", which is nonsense: someone is one's guest-friend or he is not and this goes *a fortiori* for a counsellor. The embassies came to Apollonius to ask him whether he would accept the status of ξένος and help them accordingly. Translators have tried to circumvent this problem by straining the sense of ἡγούμενοι: "(hospitem illum et agendae vitae consiliarium sibi fieri) postulantes" (Rinuccino), "(hospitem illum) declarantes ([...] consiliarium)" (Olearius, similarly Westermann), "(die ihn zu ihrem Gastfreunde und Berather) ernannten" (Jacobs), "pour lui conférer le droit de cité" (Chassang), "offering (him their hospitality) and asking (his advice)" (Conybeare, similarly Phillimore), "(die ihm ihre Gastfreundschaft) anboten und (ihn als Ratgeber [...]) einluden" (Mumprecht), "proclaiming (him their guest and their adviser)" (Jones), "(die hem gastvrijheid) aanboden en (raad) vroegen)" (Mooij). Richards 1909, 106 rightly saw that ἡγεῖσθαι does not allow for such interpretations and he conjectured ποιούμενοι, which makes perfect sense; his conjecture is approved of by Jackson. Richards quotes the following passages from *VA* in support of ποιούμενοι: 4.10.1 (p. 114.16) ἰατρὸν ποιούμενοι αὐτὸν τοῦ πάθους, 4.31.1 (p. 132.14–15) ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῶν οἴκοι νέων πατέρα βίου τε νομοθέτην καὶ γερόντων γέρας, 4.38.1 (p. 137.23) ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι. To these the following passages can be added: 1.12.1 (p. 11.24) σὲ μὲν ὁ θεὸς πεποίηται ξένον, 1.21.2 (p. 22.19–20) ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ξένον ἐμαυτοῦ ποιοῦμαί σε, 1.33.1 (p. 32.15–16) ξένον τε πεποιῆσθαι καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείου στέγης, 2.23 (p. 58.19) ὡς ποιοῖτο αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ξένον, 2.40.1 (p. 70.25) ἡ τρίτη τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐποιοῦ με, βασιλεῦ, ξένον. For the confusion of the two verbs Richards refers to his own note in Richards 1905, 343 where he argues that in Hdt. 6.52.5, τὴν δὲ Πυθίην κελεύειν σφέας ἀμφότερα τὰ παιδία ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας, ἡγήσασθαι is a corruption of ποιήσασθαι, for which he refers to 6.52.3 Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς τότε ἐόντας βουλεῦσαι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι. In our passage I find Richards' conjecture convincing.

134 In my edition, I omitted to add the section number 2 in the margin of line 8.

4.2 (p. 110.17) Τὴν μὲν δὴ διάλεξιν τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπῖδος τοῦ νεὼ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους διελέχθη, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ Σωκρατικοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπάγων τε καὶ **ἀποσπουδάζων**, φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ μόνῃ ξυμβουλεύων προσέχειν κτέ.

ἀποσπουδάζων **A E F** : σπουδάζων Phot. : ἀποσπ{ουδαζ}ῶν Reiske[2]

The first meaning given for the verb ἀποσπουδάζω in LSJ s.v. I is "*dissuade eagerly*, τινά τινος"; LSJ refer to our passage for this meaning. A TLG search shows that this would be the only place where the verb is used in this way. In all other occurrences it has the second meaning given by LSJ, "*slight, despise*, *show lack of interest in*". This is also the meaning in *VA* 1.7.2 (p. 7.13) and 6.20.7 (p. 205.22). The entry ἀποσπουδάζω in the *Diccionario Griego-Español* gives "menospreciar" as the first meaning (construed with the accusative), and "no mostrar interés por" in the second, also construed with the accusative, noting that it can also be construed with the genitive, in proof of which they refer to the present passage and to *VS* 1.17.40.1 (p. 23.3 Stefec) οὐκ ἀπεσπούδαζε τῶν κοινῶν. If we follow LSJ ἀποσπουδάζων forms a climax after ἀπάγων, "turning their interest away from", which appears to be a unique use of the word in this sense; if we follow DGE there is a shift from what Apollonius tells to the Ephesians (ἀπάγων) to what he finds important himself (ἀποσπουδάζων). To my mind the context favours the meaning given in LSJ. Reiske's conjecture ἀποσπῶν for ἀποσπουδάζων (which can be explained as *Echoschreibung* from σπουδῆς which is found in the immediately following clause) might seem to be attractive because it saves us from accepting the unique meaning of ἀποσπουδάζων here, but I have not ventured to print it in my text.

4.3.1 (p. 111.1) Τὰς δὲ ἄλλας διαλέξεις περὶ τὰ ἄλση τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξυστοῖς **δρόμοις** ἐποιεῖτο.

δρόμοις suspectum habet Reiske[2]

With regard to the phrase περὶ τὰ ἄλση τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξυστοῖς δρόμοις Reiske[2] remarks on δρόμοις: "dubito an e scholio sit natum. ξυστοῖς poterat sufficere." Reiske's suspicion is supported by 8.26.1 (p. 292.18) where we find διαλεγόμενος (sc. Ἀπολλώνιος) γὰρ περὶ τὰ τῶν ξυστῶν ἄλση; here too the scene is in Ephesus. Further, in Ephesian inscriptions the word ξυστός/ξυστόν (in the singular) refers to a specific well-known place; see, e.g., IEph. 756 ἀρχιερεὺς ξυστοῦ καὶ διὰ βίου ξυστάρχης. On the other hand we should pay attention to Poll. 9.43 καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἀποδυτήριον καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ λουτρῶνες, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ παλαῖστραι καὶ δρόμοι ξυστοί. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ δρόμου τῷ ξυστῷ κεχρῆσθαι δοκεῖ ἐν τῷ Οἰκονομικῷ εἰπὼν "ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ξυστῷ περιπατοίην." εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀριστίου Ὀρφεῖ, "ἦν μοι παλαίστρα καὶ δρόμος ξυστὸς πέλας". The fact that Pollux states that Xenophon also uses the word ξυστός without δρόμος shows that the combination of the words was not uncommon.[135] There is no rea-

135 In Poll. 3.148 we find καὶ δρόμοι ξυστοὶ ἐν οἷς αἱ ἀσκήσεις, but it is not clear whether this should be taken as "and δρόμοι are ξυστοί in which training took place" or "there are also δρόμοι ξυστοί in which training took place".

son why Philostratus cannot have used ξυστός both with and without δρόμος. Therefore I have not followed Reiske's suggestion although it cannot be excluded that δρόμοις is an interpolation.

4.3.1 (p. 111.4) στρουθοὶ μὲν ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων σιωπῶντες, εἷς δὲ **αὐτῶν** προσπετόμενος ἐβόα κτέ.

αὐτῶν] αὐτοῖς Hamaker (et Jackson)

Hamaker (who is followed by Jackson) argues that αὐτοῖς, which serves as a complement to προσπετόμενος, is necessary because the bird who has seen the wheat grains does not belong to the group of birds who are sitting in the trees. This is too strict, to my mind: the μέν – δέ opposition serves to separate the birds in the trees from the messenger-bird; moreover, in the sequel the birds in the trees are referred to by τοῖς ἄλλοις which contrasts them to εἷς αὐτῶν. With regard to the transmitted reading Kayser[1] (note on p. 185) rightly speaks about "grata negligentia".

4.5 (p. 112.6) Ἀφικνουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Σμύρναν **προ{σ}απήντων** μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες κτέ.

προ{σ}απήντων Reiske[2] : προσαπήντων **A F** : προσαπήτων **E**

Reiske's conjecture is necessary because of the present participle ἀφικνουμένῳ which indicates that Apollonius is still outside the city when the Ionians come forth to meet him. This is the normal way in which important guests are received in so-called ἀπαντήσεις. For a discussion of this phenomenon Christopher Jones has drawn my attention to Robert 1985, 469–470, 477, 479.

4.7.1 (p. 112.28) τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκοδομήματα ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ μένειν οὐδαμοῦ ὁρώμενα πλὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς, ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν, ἄνδρας δὲ ἀγαθοὺς πανταχοῦ μὲν ὁρᾶσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ φθέγγεσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν, ἧς γεγόνασιν, ἀποφαίνειν τοσαύτην, **ὅσηνπερ** αὐτοὶ γῆν ἐπελθεῖν δύνανται.

ὅσηνπερ **E F**^{pc} : ὥσηνπερ **F**^{ac} : ὅσοιπερ **A**

The older editions read ὅσηνπερ which was replaced by **A**'s ὅσοιπερ in Kayser's editions. It is a striking instance of the exaggerated value Kayser attaches to the Paris ms. which is wittily called "Kayser's pet" by Jones (1.22). What is meant is that the city is as large as the parts of the earth visited by its inhabitants, not as large as the number of citizens who roam the world.

4.7.2 (p. 113.2) ἔλεγε δὲ τὰς μὲν πόλεις τὰς οὕτω καλὰς ἐοικέναι τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἀγάλματι, ὃς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῷ Φειδίᾳ ἐκπεποίηται (καθῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτό, **οὗ{τως} τῷ** δημιουργῷ ἔδοξε) κτέ.

οὗ{τως} τῷ Jackson : οὕτως τῷ **A E F** : οὕτως ⟨ὡς⟩ τῷ Morel (et Richards)

The transmitted reading states that the sculptor decided that the statue of the Olympian Zeus should depict the god as sitting. However, the point of the comparison is not the way in which Zeus is depicted but the place where he finds himself. Phidias decided that the statue should be placed in Olympia and therefore it is to remain in Olympia forever. This is perfectly expressed by Jackson's οὗ τῷ for the transmitted οὕτως τῷ. The corruption can be easily explained. First ουτω was wrongly interpreted as οὕτω instead of οὗ τῷ. Then the absence of an article with δημιουργῷ was felt as intolerable which led to οὕτω τῷ. Finally, a sigma was added to οὕτω. A palmary emendation indeed.

4.7.2 (p. 113.5) τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῇ φαίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ **ἐς πάντα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ** ὑπονοεῖσθαι.

ἐς πάντα] ἀπόντα Hamaker : ἐς πάντα ⟨ἥκοντα⟩ Kayser[2Adn] : suspectum habet Reiske[2] ‖ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ] ἐν τῷ νῷ vel ἐν τῷ θυμῷ Jacobs[1/2/6] : suspectum habet Olearius

The final phrase of ch. 7 has provoked many conjectures. Apollonius has stated that Smyrna itself is a beautiful city but that the virtuous men from Smyrna who travel all over the world (ἐπὶ πάντα) expand the city worldwide by their virtue. Thus there is a physical city and a spiritual city; the latter of the two is much more important and beautiful than the former. Then Apollonius compares the two to Phidias' statue of Zeus in Olympia and the picture of Zeus as evoked in Homer's epics. Phidias' statue can be seen with the physical eye and it stands permanently in Olympia; the picture of Zeus which arises from Homer's epics can be conceived spiritually and this can be done in any place in the world. The alleged textual problems concentrate on ἐς πάντα and ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

With regard to ἐς πάντα Reiske states that he finds it unsatisfactory but he doesn't propose a conjecture. If ἐς πάντα is kept, so Reiske argues, the sense must be that Zeus in heaven governs all things that men are occupied with. Hamaker conjectures ἀπόντα, "in absence", but Kayser[1] (in his note on p. 185) rightly rejects this with reference to the similar phrase ἐπὶ πάντα a few lines before. Kayser[2] (in his note on p. XXVIII) states: "ad ἐς πάντα requiritur ἥκοντα", but he does not print this in his text. ἐς πάντα ⟨ἥκοντα⟩ echoes ἐπὶ πάντα ἥκοντας a few lines earlier; it means that the Homeric Zeus visits all regions of the world due to the worldwide distribution of Homer's poems. This appears to me to be too literal an interpretation. As Olearius points out, ἐς πάντα is equivalent to ἐν πᾶσι, "everywhere"; for the interchangeability of ἐν and ἐς see note on 2.27.2 (p. 61.3). The motive for writing ἐς πάντα instead of ἐν πᾶσι may have been that Philostratus wished to avoid two successive datives.

Let us now turn to ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Olearius suggests that these words may have been inserted by someone who wished to introduce the heavens as a counterpart to ἐν γῇ in the first part of the sentence but he refrains from obelizing the words. Jacobs too is dis-

satisfied with ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ; he suggests ἐν τῷ νῷ or ἐν τῷ θυμῷ but this would be pleonastic in combination with the immediately following ὑπονοεῖσθαι. To my mind the transmitted text should be kept. I think that the comparison is expressed in a very condensed way: "Phidias' statue of Zeus can be seen with the physical eye on earth, exclusively in Olympia; Homer's Zeus can be imagined everywhere on earth with the spiritual eye. Phidias' Zeus is a physical image; Homer's Zeus is a spiritual image." I take ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ apart from ἐς πάντα, joining it to ὑπονοεῖσθαι: "but the other (masculine, i.e. the god Zeus himself) is imagined everywhere (as being) in heaven". Thus the contrast between the physical and the spiritual image of Zeus is expressed by the contrast between earth and heaven. The words ἐς πάντα pertain to the men who form an image of Zeus and not to Zeus himself: one need not go to Olympia to imagine the spiritual Zeus as this is an act of the mind, irrespective of the physical place one finds oneself in.

4.9 (p. 114.13) εἰ δὲ φιλοτιμήσονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ στασιάσουσι μὴ κακίων ἕτερος ἑτέρου δόξαι, καλοὶ μὲν ὅρμοι τῇ νηΐ ταύτῃ, μεστὰ δὲ εὐδίας τε καὶ εὐπλοίας πάντα, Ποσειδῶν δὲ Ἀσφάλειος ἡ περὶ **αὐτοῖς** εὐβουλία δόξει.

αὐτοῖς] αὐτῆς Phot. : αὑτοῖς Richards : αὐτοὺς Olearius

Richards' αὑτοῖς (with rough breathing), which is accepted by Conybeare, results in "the precaution they exercise about themselves" (Conybeare). I believe that αὐτοῖς (with smooth breathing) is preferable because of the preceding ὁ χειμὼν αὐτοὶ δόξουσιν, "they will be their own storm" which is contrasted with ἡ περὶ αὐτοῖς εὐβουλία, "their prudence". περὶ αὐτοῖς is to be taken as periphrastic, as in 8.7.25 (p. 271.13) τῷ περὶ ἡμᾶς γένει, "our nation". Olearius reads αὐτοὺς but in Philostratus (and in other authors of the Imperial period) there are numerous cases of περί with the dative instead of the genitive or the accusative; cf. Schmid 1.399, 3.287, 4.462–463.

4.10.1 (p. 114.18) (...) ὁ δὲ οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ὁδόν, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν "ἴωμεν" ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τὸ Πυθαγόρου, οἶμαι, ἐκεῖνο πράττων, τὸ ἐν Θουρίοις ὁμοῦ καὶ **Μεταποντίῳ** εἶναι.

Μεταποντίῳ scripsi : μεταποντίοις **A E F**

Θούριοι can be used both for the city and for its inhabitants but Μεταπόντιοι can only refer to the citizens of Metapontum and not to the city itself which is always referred to as Μεταπόντιον. The transmitted reading results from *Echoschreibung* of the preceding Θουρίοις. Moreover, in collocations such as εἶναι ἐν it is the name of the city that is used and not the name of the inhabitants; see for instance the immediately preceding ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. Incidentally, it may be noted that the collocation Θουρίοις καὶ Μεταποντίοις occurs in the scholium on Pi. *N.* 10.12b τιμᾶται γοῦν καὶ παρὰ Θουρίοις καὶ Μεταποντίοις ὡς θεὸς Διομήδης, where the names refer to the inhabitants of the two cities.

4.10.3 (p. 115.7) γυμνωθέντος οὖν τοῦ βεβλῆσθαι δοκοῦντος ὁ μὲν ἠφάνιστο, κύων δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος ὅμοιος **τῷ** ἐκ Μολοττῶν, μέγεθος δὲ κατὰ τὸν μέγιστον λέοντα συντετριμμένος ὤφθη ὑπὸ τῶν λίθων κτέ.

τῷ] τῳ dubitanter Westermann

When the would-be beggar in the theatre has disappeared after the stoning the Ephesians see a dog looking like a Molossian dog. Westermann, in his notes, tentatively suggested that the article τῷ should be replaced by the indefinite pronoun τῳ, a suggestion which was taken over by Jones. However, the article is better because it refers to a well-known breed of dog, as appears from, e.g., Ael. *NA* 11.20 κύνες εἰσὶν ἱεροί, καὶ οἵδε θεραπευτῆρες αὐτοῦ καὶ λατρεύοντές οἱ, ὑπεραίροντες τὸ κάλλος τοὺς Μολοττοὺς κύνας καὶ σὺν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος.

4.11.1 (p. 115.12) Καθάρας δὲ τοὺς Ἐφεσίους τῆς νόσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἱκανῶς ἔχων ἐς τὴν **Αἰολίδα** ὥρμητο.

Αἰολίδα Bentley: Ἑλλάδα **E F** (deest **A**)

When setting sail from Ephesus to Greece the normal route is via Samos, Ikaria and so on. But Apollonius arrives at Pergamon which is situated much further to the north. After his visit to Pergamon he goes on to Troy which is situated even still further to the north. Although Pergamon lies in Mysia Apollonius arrives there by ship and the coastal strip which separates Pergamon from the sea belongs to the Aeolis. Bentley saw this and accordingly conjectured Αἰολίδα for Ἑλλάδα, which I regard as a certain correction. The Aeolid is also mentioned in 4.13.2 (p. 117.5) ἐς τὴν Αἰολέων.

4.11.1 (p. 115.15) (...) πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἰασάμενος ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ πάσης τῆς περὶ **αὐτὴν** ἀρχαιολογίας ἐμφορηθεὶς ἐφοίτησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τάφους κτέ.

αὐτὴν Reiske$^{1/2}$: αὐτῶν **E F** (deest **A**)

αὐτός in the *casus obliqui* is an anaphoric pronoun. Therefore in this context αὐτῶν cannot refer cataphorically to the Achaeans, as some translators suppose, e.g. Conybeare: "And when his mind was glutted with all the traditions of their past, he went to visit the tombs of the Achaeans". For the same reason, αὐτῶν cannot be taken to refer to all the things that happened at Troy, as Phillimore does: "he glutted his curiosity on the antiquarian memories of the place". Reiske's αὐτήν, which refers to τὴν Ἰλιάδα, is a simple and convincing solution.

4.11.2 (p. 115.25) τόν τε γὰρ Νέστορα τὸν ἐκ τῆς Πύλου μάλα ἠσπάζετο, ἐπειδὴ ἀεί τι αὐτῷ διῄει χρηστόν, τόν τε Φοίνικα τροφέα καὶ ὀπαδὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα **τιμῶν ὠνόμαζεν** κτέ.

τιμῶν **E** : τιμᾶν Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : om. **F** (deest **A**) ‖ ὠνόμαζεν Reiske^{2} (*appellabat* vertit Rinuccinus; ci. et Richards Jackson) : ἐνόμιζεν **E F** (deest **A**)

The two textual issues are inextricably interrelated. The older editions, which are based on Laur.69.26, which ultimately derives from **F**, omit τιμῶν. In all three Latin translations (Rinuccino, Morel and Olearius) ἐνόμιζεν is translated as *appellabat*, as if the Greek had ὠνόμαζεν. Reiske (who did not find τιμῶν in his text, using Olearius' edition) was the first to propose actually to read ὠνόμαζεν in the text; he was followed by Richards and Jackson. The verbs νομίζω and ὀνομάζω are often confused in our mss.[136] and ὠνόμαζεν is obviously what we need here. Kayser tried to save the transmitted ἐνόμιζεν by changing τιμῶν into τιμᾶν, "he had the habit of honouring Phoinix", which is translated by Westermann as "Phoenicem item pro nutritore et comite et quae sunt ejusmodi honoris caussa habebat"; this is not very satisfactory. A parallel for τιμῶν ὠνόμαζεν is furnished by Theodoretus, *Historia religiosa* (= *Philotheus*) 2.1 Ἰουλιανός, ὃν Σάβαν ἐπίκλην οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τιμῶντες ὠνόμαζον.

I have considered the possibility that τιμῶν is an interpolation, added in order to make sense of the transmitted ἐνόμιζεν, but this can hardly be regarded as a convincing solution and therefore I have retained τιμῶν.

4.13.1 (p. 117.1) πάντες οὖν καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν χαλεπωτάτων τὸν ἄνδρα κρείττω ἡγούμενοι **ξυνεμβαίνειν** ἤθελον καὶ ἐδέοντο προσδοῦναί σφισι τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ πλοῦ.

ξυνεμβαίνειν Laur.CS.155[2sl] : ξυμβαίνειν **E F** (deest **A**)

Although the primary mss. have ξυμβαίνειν the reading ξυνεμβαίνειν, found first as a correction by a later hand in Laur.CS.155, is absolutely necessary here. ξυμβαίνειν cannot mean "go together with someone", whereas "embark together" suits the context perfectly. The error is easily made because ξυμβαίνειν is so frequent.

4.13.1 (p. 117.2) ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλήρωμα πολλαπλάσιον ἦν τῆς νεώς, ναῦν **ἑτέραν μείζονα** ἐπισκεψάμενος (πολλαὶ δὲ περὶ τὸ Αἰάντειον ἦσαν) "ἐνταῦθα" ἔφη "ἐμβαίνωμεν."

ἑτέραν μείζονα **E** : μείζω (sic) ἑτέραν **F** (deest **A**)

Schmid 4.17–18 illustrates that the short forms of the comparative in *-ίων* are regular in Philostratus while there are only five cases of the long forms. The fact that in our passage **F** has the regular μείζω while **E** has the exceptional μείζονα makes me suspect that this passage should be added to the few exceptions to the rule. In other respects too we see that **F** has a marked tendency at regularization and this may well have played a role here too.

As to the word order I think that **E** is right too. In the few places in Philostratus where a form of ἕτερος accompanies a noun which has another adjective as well the form of ἕτερος comes first; see *VA* 2.28.1 (p. 61.9) κλῶνες ἕτεροι παραπλήσιοι μὲν τῇ μυρρίνῃ; 6.20.7 (p. 205.23) ἴωμεν ἐφ' ἕτερον λόγον πολλοῦ ἄξιον; *Her*. 43.12 (p. 56.20–21 De Lannoy)

136 See for instance Pl. *R*. 515b5 ὀνομάζειν Iamblichus (probante Slings) : νομίζειν **F** Proclus : νομίζειν ὀνομάζειν ***AD***.

ἔμαθε δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τρόπον ἕτερον δαιμόνιόν τε καὶ σοφίας πρόσω. In cases where a form of ἕτερος accompanies a substantivized adjective the form of ἕτερος usually (but not always) comes after the substantivated adjective. See for instance *VA* 7.36.3 (p. 252.12) ἠδίκημαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μείζω ἕτερα; also *VS* 1.20.50.2 (p. 30.14 Stefec); 2.7.30.3 (p. 89.16–17 Stefec); 2.9.36.8 (p. 96.3 Stefec); 2.11.44.1 (p. 101.25 Stefec). In two places the form of ἕτερος comes first: *VA* 7.39.3 (p. 254.22–23) οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ' οὓς καὶ διοσημείας καὶ ἕτερα πλείω τερατεύονται καὶ ἀναγεγράφαταί τισιν; *VS* 2.1.14.4 (p. 73.5 Stefec) καὶ ἕτεροι πλείους. Intuitively too, I prefer the word order of **E**: "another ship, a bigger one" sounds more natural to me than "a bigger ship, another one".

4.13.3 (p. 117.13) ὑπογέγραπτο δὲ τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀγάλματος "θείῳ Παλαμήδει."

ὑπογέγραπτο **E** : ὑπεγέγραπτο **F** : ἐπεγέγραπτο Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} (deest **A**)

ὑπογράφω, in a context such as this, usually means "*write under* an inscription, *subjoin* or *add to* it" (LSJ s.v. I.1). This is probably the reason for Kayser's conjecture ἐπεγέγραπτο. However, I think that the transmitted ὑπεγέγραπτο (or ὑπογέγραπτο) can be kept by assuming that here it means "to write under the statue". With regard to the presence or absence of the augment I find **E** a safer guide than **F**, which is notorious for introducing corrections of every kind, and therefore I read the unaugmented form ὑπογέγραπτο instead of Kayser's ἐπεγέγραπτο.

4.14 (p. 117.20–21) Παρῆλθε καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἄδυτον προσορμισάμενος τῇ Λέσβῳ. φασὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθά ποτε τὸν Ὀρφέα μαντικῇ **χρᾶν**, **ἧς τὸν** Ἀπόλλω **ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι αὐτόν**.

χρᾶν scripsi praeeunte Jacobs qui "geweissagt" vertit : χαίρειν **A E F** ‖ ἧς τὸν Vat.1016 Crac. VIII.16.2 : εἰς τὸν **A E F** : ἔστε τὸν Kayser^{2T} : ἔς τε τὸν Preller Kayser^{2Adn} : ἔς τε Kayser^{1App} : ὅσον Scaliger ‖ ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι αὐτόν] ἐπιμεμηνίσθαι αὐτῷ Reiske$^{1/2}$ ‖ αὐτόν] αὐτῶν Salmasius

The transmitted reading μαντικῇ χαίρειν means that Orpheus "rejoiced in divination" (Phillimore). Now the circumstances under which Orpheus prophesied were far from joyful. He had been torn to pieces by the Thracian women and his severed head had arrived on the shore of Lesbos where it started to prophesy; therefore the verb χαίρειν is quite out of place here. To my mind χαίρειν is a corruption of χρᾶν, the verb that is also used a few lines later in Ὀρφεὺς δὲ ἔχρα μόνος ἄρτι ἐκ Θρᾴκης ἡ κεφαλὴ ἥκουσα. It is probable that Jacobs also wished to read χρᾶν, witness his translation "Hier, sagt man, habe Orpheus vormals geweissagt"; Jacobs has no note on the passage. The collocation μαντικῇ χρᾶν might seem to be pleonastic but χρᾶν alone would not have been sufficient because divination does not belong to Orpheus' regular activities.

The older translators (Rinuccino, Morel) render the phrase ἐς (*sic*) τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι αὐτόν as "quousque sibi ab Apolline concessum fuit", but this meaning cannot be extracted from ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλω. It may have inspired the conjectures ἔς τε τόν (Preller Kayser^{2Adn}) and ἔστε τόν (Kayser^{2T}).

There is no saying how Kayser interpreted the text he prints. Translators who accept Kayser's ἔστε τόν interpret ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι as "curam susciperet" (Westermann), "interfered" (Phillimore), "turned his attention" (Conybeare), "aufmerksam wurde" (Mumprecht), "opmerkte" (Mooij). An objection to all these interpretations is that ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι is taken absolutely, which occurs only rarely (LSJ s.v. I.1 *ad finem* quote Hdt. 2.2.4, where the object is easily supplied from the context). The only possibility for saving ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι is to provide it with an object. This is easily achieved by changing the transmitted εἰς into ἧς, as Olearius does, who found this reading in the Vratislaviensis (nowadays Crac.VIII.16.2). εἰς and ἧς are homophonous and therefore the error is easily made. Olearius translates the phrase as "idque ipsi Apollini solicitudinem iniecisse"; he is followed by Jacobs, who translates: "und [habe Orpheus] selbst dem Apollo Sorge dadurch gemacht". The interpretation by Olearius and Jacobs puts a strain on the usual meaning of ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, which is "take care of", "have charge of" and not "being concerned/upset about". Jones, who accepts Olearius' interpretation, translates "which was the business of Apollo himself". Jones has informed me *per litteras* that he believes the sense to be that Orpheus was doing something which was in the province of Apollo; in other words, Orpheus was shooting under Apollo's pigeons. This interpretation finds support in the following sentence which states that Orpheus' mantic activities caused Apollo's own oracles to remain without visitors. — Another possibility of providing ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι with an object is to change αὐτόν into αὐτῶν, as Salmasius proposed; this must mean something like "until Apollo took care of the affair" but then we continue to have problems with ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλω.

Reiske proposes changing ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι αὐτόν into ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι αὐτῷ which would give perfect meaning but ἐπιμνίειν is nowhere attested in the middle voice and therefore this suggestion should be dismissed.

4.14 (p. 117.24) "πέπαυσο" ἔφη "τῶν ἐμῶν· **καὶ γὰρ δὴ** ᾄδοντά σε ἱκανῶς ἤνεγκα."

καὶ γὰρ δὴ] καὶ γὰρ δὴ ⟨καὶ⟩ Kayser[2]

Apart from this passage there are 48 occurrences of καὶ γὰρ δή in Philostratus. In all but two cases we find καὶ γὰρ δὴ καί. The two exceptions are *VA* 6.30.2 (p. 213.11–12) καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔρρωτο αὐτὸν ἴσα τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὸ σῶμα; *Her.* 33.16 (p. 43.10 De Lannoy) καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁ λοιμὸς ὃν προὔλεγεν ἐνέσκηψε μὲν ἐς τὰς Ἑλλησποντικὰς πόλεις. I suppose that this was Kayser's motive for supplying καί here as well but to my mind we should not strive for uniformity in such matters. In other authors, both καὶ γὰρ δή and καὶ γὰρ δὴ καί are found. And thus I have not followed Kayser here.

4.15.2 (p. 118.14) "Ἀχιλλεῖ" ἔφη "ξυγγενόμενος, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ πολλὰ ἴσως διακηκοὼς μήπω ἡμῖν γιγνωσκόμενα οὐ **δίεις** ταῦτα κτέ."

δίεις **E F** : διίης **A** : δίει Par.1696[2pc] (ci. Cobet)

In Attic, the second person singular of εἶμι is εἶ, not εἶς. Cobet 1859, 175 supposes that in our passage δίεις is a scribal error. He was anticipated by the corrector of Par.1696, who erased the final sigma. There are, however, a few instances of the form εἶς, such as Ph. *de Spec.Leg.* 1.295 γυμνὸς μὲν γάρ, θαυμάσιε, ἦλθες, γυμνὸς δὲ πάλιν ἄπεις. And the scholium on S. *OR* 430 runs: οὐκ εἰς ὄλεθρον ἄπει, ἤγουν οὐκ εἰς φθορὰν ἀπελεύσῃ Xr. εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀπέλθῃς pXr. ἄπειμι, ἄπεις, καὶ ἐκβολῇ τοῦ σ, ἄπει, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ εἶ dXspXr ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ὑπάρχεις pXr.[137] See also 4.32.1 (p. 133.6) περίεις with critical note. Therefore I have kept the transmitted δίεις.

4.16.2 (p. 119.2) (...) δεινός τε ὁρώμενος οὐκ **ἐξηλλάττετο** τοῦ φαιδροῦ κτέ.

ἐξηλλάττετο **A E F** : ἐξήλλαττε Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}

The phrase οὐκ ἐξηλλάττετο τοῦ φαιδροῦ should be literally taken as "he wasn't removed from the cheerful", which is a litotes for "he looked very cheerful". Jacobs translates: "Sein Anblick war furchtbar, aber der Heiterkeit nicht entfremdet"; Westermann has: "gravisque aspectu ab hilaritate tamen haud alienus erat". The imperfect expresses that this happened repeatedly; it is superfluous to conjecture ἐξήλλακτο. The active ἐξαλλάττω with the genitive can be used in the sense "*to be different from*" (LSJ s.v. II.2.a) but there is no need to change the transmitted middle ἐξηλλάττετο into the active ἐξήλλαττε, as Kayser does.

4.16.2 (p. 119.8) τὴν μὲν δὴ κόμην οὐδὲ κείρασθαί ποτε ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ ἄσυλον φυλάξαι τῷ Σπερχειῷ (**ποταμῷ{ν} γὰρ πατρῴῳ** Σπερχειῷ χρήσασθαι) κτέ.

ποταμῷ{ν} γὰρ πατρῴῳ Unger : ποταμῶν γὰρ πρώτῳ **A E F**

In its transmitted form, the parenthesis ποταμῶν γὰρ πρώτῳ Σπερχειῷ χρήσασθαι is interpreted in two different ways. The first is "since this was the first river that he had ever been familiar with" (Jones); similarly Rinuccino, Moret, Conybeare, Phillimore, Mumprecht. Mooij's "want dat was de eerste rivier waaruit hij had gedronken" also belongs to this group. These scholars derive χρήσασθαι from χράω LSJ C.IV.1.b. The second interpretation is "quod eius primum fluvii usus oraculo esset" (Olearius, followed by Jacobs), with χρήσασθαι in the sense of χράω LSJ A.III.[138] Irrespective of which interpretation we adopt it is illuminating to have a look at Hom. *Il.* 23.140–151, where Homer tells about Achilles (141–142): στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην, | τήν ῥα Σπερχειῷ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεθόωσαν. But why did he grow his hair in honour of Spercheios? The *scholium vetus* ad 142a2 runs τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἔτρεφον τὰς κόμας, ἐπεὶ κουροτρόφοι νομίζονται

137 With regard to this scholium Donald Mastronarde has pointed out to me that "in this kind of derivation an intermediate step is often a form that exists only in the theory of the grammarian and not in real usage."

138 The word is used in this sense at 2.37.2 (p. 69.6) and 3.42.2 (p. 102.3).

διὰ τὸ αὐξητικὸν τὸ ὑγρὸν εἶναι. ὅτι δὲ αὐξητικόν ἐστι, καὶ παῖδες πρώτῃ τροφῇ χρῶνται τῇ ὑγρᾷ. The *scholium vetus* ad 142b states: ἄλλως· {τήν ῥα} Σπερχειῷ: ὡς συγγενεῖ· Πολυδώραν γὰρ εἶχε τὴν Πηλέως θυγατέρα. Both explanations would suit the first interpretation. The second interpretation might seem to find some support in the fact that in the Homeric passage Achilles reproaches Spercheios that he did not fulfil Peleus' prayer, but a prayer to a god is not the same as an oracle given by a god and it was Peleus who offered up the prayer and not Achilles himself. So the second interpretation should be dismissed.

Unger 1839, 212 conjectures πατρῴῳ for πρώτῳ, promising to add proof for this conjecture in book 5 of his work, which was never published. Unger refers to V.Fl. 4.229, 5.419 for the phrase *patrius amnis*, and to six passages in Nonnus (4.190 μητρώϊον ὕδωρ; 7.172 πάτριον ὕδωρ; 13.251 πάτριον ῥόον; 23.189 πατρώϊον ὕδωρ; 27.48 πατρῷον Ὑδάσπην; 33.258 πατρῷος Ὑδάσπης; add 37.164–165 ὕδωρ πάτριον; 42.93 πάτριον ὕδωρ); to these can be added Colluth. *Hel*. 346 (πατρῴοιο ποταμοῖο). The corruption is easy to explain, especially if we assume that an original πατρῴῳ was written as *nomen sacrum*; it may also be partly due to *Echoschreibung* of πρώτῳ in the next clause. Kayser[1], in his note (p. 186), rejects the conjecture, stating that "vulgata idem significat", by which he probably means that Spercheios, the river of Achilles' native Thessaly, was the river Achilles first became acquainted with. From a purely formal point of view Kayser may be right but to me the word πρώτῳ makes a very strange impression in this context and there are two arguments in favour of πατρῴῳ.

The first argument is that there is a difference in syntax. With πρώτῳ the verb χρήσασθαι is used in an absolute sense (LSJ s.v. χράω C.IV.1.b, for which LSJ give the meaning "*to be intimate with* a man"); with πατρῴῳ it means "*treat, regard* someone as" (LSJ s.v. χράω C.IV.1.a). The absolute meaning makes a strange impression; one would rather have a more explicit verb such as ὁμιλεῖν or συνεῖναι.

The second argument in favour of πατρῴῳ is concerned with the supposed meaning of πρώτῳ/πατρῴῳ. If we want to save the transmitted πρώτῳ it must be understood in the sense of "most important" (LSJ s.v. I.4) but then there is no obvious reason why Achilles should regard Spercheios as the most prominent river nor is there a long-standing habit of sacrificing hair to the most prominent river. On the other hand there is evidence for sacrificing hair to a local river. In Hom. *Il.* 23.141–142, χαίτην, | τήν ῥα Σπερχειῷ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεθόωσαν, there is a strong bond between the river and Achilles via Achilles' father Peleus, who had promised Achilles' hair to the river. This bond is well expressed by πατρῴῳ in our passage.[139] In his prayer to Spercheios Achilles says (144–146): Σπερχεί', ἄλλως σοί γε πατὴρ ἠρήσατο Πηλεὺς | κεῖσέ με νοστήσαντα φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν | σοί τε κόμην κερέειν ῥέξειν θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην; cf. the D-scholium ad *Il.* 23.144: Ἦθος ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, μετὰ τὸ παρακμάσαι τῆς νεότητος, τὰς κόμας ἀποκείρειν τοῖς ποταμοῖς. τούτους γὰρ ἐνόμιζον τῶν ἀνατροφῶν αἰτίους εἶναι. (...) διόπερ καὶ τὰς Ἀχιλλέως κόμας Πηλεὺς τούτῳ καθιέρωσεν. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ Φαρσάλου τῆς Θετταλίας. In *Her.* 35.9

139 See Larson 2007, 152: "The offering of a lock of hair to the local river was a widespread custom".

(p. 50.6–7 De Lannoy) Philostratus tells that Ajax let his hair grow in honour of the river Ilissus near Athens; he adds that the Athenians regarded Salamis, Ajax' birthplace, as an Attic deme.[140] In A. *Ch*. 6 Orestes promises to sacrifice πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θρεπτήριον. And so I believe that Unger's conjecture should be accepted.

The corruption of the text is easy to explain. First, πατρῴῳ was corrupted to πρώτῳ. Next, ποταμῷ was changed into ποταμῶν in order to make sense with πρώτῳ because the phrase ποταμῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ Σπερχειῷ χρήσασθαι gives the nonsensical "the first river Spercheios".

4.16.4 (p. 119.20–22) 'πρεσβεύσω,' ἔφην· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῆς πρεσβείας ἦν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτούς. 'ἀλλ' ἐγώ τί σου, Ἀχιλλεῦ, δέομαι.'

This is the punctuation in Westermann's edition. By means of the γάρ-sentence Apollonius explains to his friends why he complied with Achilles' request. Olearius never uses quotation marks, neither in his Greek text nor in his Latin translation, but in this case his translation makes clear that he understands the text as Westermann does: "Obibo, dixi, scopus enim legationis erat, ne illi perirent. At & ego, inquam, abs te aliquid, o Achilles, peto." Among other translators, Mooij is the only one who translates similarly: "Ik zei: 'Dat zal ik doen.' Want de bedoeling van het gezantschap was dat zij niet vernietigd zouden worden. 'Maar, Achilles, ik heb een verzoek aan je.'" All other editions and translations punctuate and translate in such a way that the γάρ-sentence is spoken by Apollonius to Achilles. This is impossible because of the imperfect ἦν. Translators see themselves compelled to translate this as a present (or, as Conybeare does, as "were"), which is patently wrong. — This is as good a place as any to remind us that we should always remain alert for possible cases of wrong punctuation in our editions.[141]

4.16.4 (p. 119.23) 'ξυνίημι,' ἔφη 'δῆλος γὰρ εἶ περὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν **⟨ἐρωτήσων⟩**· ἐρώτα δὲ λόγους πέντε, οὓς αὐτός τε βούλει καὶ Μοῖραι ξυγχωροῦσιν.'

⟨ἐρωτήσων⟩ Reiske$^{1/2}$ (et Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T})

The personal construction δῆλος εἶ requires a participle. Reiske and Kayser independently proposed adding ἐρωτήσων, which is very attractive. The addition of ἐρωτήσων was anticipated by Olearius who translates "certe enim de rebus Troianis es quaesiturus". The omission of the word results from homoiarcton with the immediately following ἐρώτα. Kayser draws attention to a striking parallel in 8.5.4 (p. 261.7) ἐρωτήσων δῆλος ἦν.

140 Cf. Grossardt 2006 ad loc. (p. 621): "Die gelobte, aber durch den vorzeitigen Tod verhinderte Haarschur des Aias für den Fluss Ilissos steht in Parallele zur gelobten, aber verhinderten Haarschur des Achilleus für den thessalischen Fluss Spercheios (Hom. *Il.* 23,140–153) und wurde wohl direkt von dieser angeregt. (...) Die Erzählung von der geplanten Haarschur des Aias erhält damit auch fiktiven aitiologischen Charakter und unterstreicht seine Rolle als attischer Nationalheros."

141 On erroneous punctuation in Greek and Latin texts in general, see Conte 2013, 7–28.

For δῆλος εἶναι with a future participle see for instance S. *Aj.* 1225 δῆλος δέ μοὐστὶ σκαιὸν ἐκλύσων στόμα; J. *AJ* 5.285 δῆλος ἦν προφητεύσων.

4.16.4 (p. 120.1–2) Μουσῶν δὲ **θρῆνοι** καὶ Νηρηΐδων, οὓς ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι φασί, Μοῦσαι μὲν οὐδ' ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἐνταῦθα, Νηρηΐδες δὲ **ἐπιφοιτῶσι**.

θρῆνοι Kayser$^{1/2}$: θρῆνον **A F** Phot.**M** : θρήνων **E** Phot.**A** ‖ ἐπιφοιτῶσι **A E** : ἔτι φοιτῶσι **F**

The archetype had θρῆνον. θρήνων, found in **E** and Phot.**A**, is probably an (unsuccessful) attempt at correction; it has at least the merit of adjusting the number of the noun to the number of the relative οὕς. Kayser's θρῆνοι is excellent: it belongs to the category of what Schmid 4.113–115 calls the "absolute nominative" and what is called a Theme construction in modern linguistic models; cf. my notes on 2.28.2 (p. 61.22) and 3.7.1 (p. 77.1).

The archetype had ἐπιφοιτῶσι, for which **F** has ἔτι φοιτῶσι. The question therefore is whether the archetype's reading is acceptable or not and, if so, whether **F**'s ἔτι φοιτῶσι is so superior that it should be regarded as the authentic reading. As to the first question, LSJ s.v. ἐπιφοιτάω 1 give the meaning *"come habitually* or *in addition*": the first of these suits our context perfectly. Here are some instances from Philostratus where the word means "come habitually": *VA* 6.27.1 (p. 211.8–9) ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ἄρα τῇ κώμῃ δέκατον ἤδη μῆνα σατύρου φάσμα λυττῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γύναια; 6.27.4 (p. 212.6–7) οἶδα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Λῆμνον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τινα ἰσηλίκων, οὗ τῇ μητρὶ ἐλέγετό τις ἐπιφοιτᾶν σάτυρος; *Her.* 45.3 (p. 58.17–18 De Lannoy) καὶ Σελήνης ὡς Ἐνδυμίωνι ἐπεφοίτα καθεύδοντι. The regular visits of the Nereids contrast with the fact that the Muses had never visited Achilles' tomb. Thus ἐπιφοιτῶσι is acceptable. As to the second question: ἔτι φοιτῶσι must mean "they are coming up to the present day". To my mind, ἔτι on its own is too weak to express such an emphatic meaning; I would rather have ἔτι (καὶ) νῦν/νυνί. So I don't think that ἔτι φοιτῶσι is so much better than ἐπιφοιτῶσι that it deserves to be printed in the text at the expense of the archetype's reading. — Confusion of Π and Τ occurs frequently in our mss. (see for instance 4.4 [p. 111.23] οὔπω] οὔτως **E F)** but this argument can be used either way here; and if both readings are possible the stemma tilts the balance.

4.16.4 (p. 120.4) μετὰ ταῦτα ἠρόμην, εἰ ἡ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγείη αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ ἀληθὲς μὲν ἔφη τοῦτο εἶναι, σφαγῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἑκοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα **ἐλθεῖν καὶ** τὸν ἑαυτῆς τε κἀκείνου ἔρωτα μεγάλων ἀξιῶσαι προσπεσοῦσαν ξίφει ὀρθῷ.

ἐλθεῖν καὶ scripsi : ἐλθοῦσαν καὶ **A E F** : ἐλθοῦσαν {καὶ} Jackson

The transmitted text cannot be construed satisfactorily. Jackson proposed deleting καί after ἐλθοῦσαν; this gives an acceptable text. However, I think it is a better solution to change the transmitted ἐλθοῦσαν into ἐλθεῖν which is linked to the infinitive ἀξιῶσαι by means of καί. The corruption can be explained as the result of *Echoschreibung* from the preceding ἑκοῦσαν (and possibly also the following προσπεσοῦσαν).

4.16.6 (p. 121.2) ‘ἀλλὰ σύ,’ ἔφη ‘Ἀπολλώνιε (**σοφοῖς γὰρ πρὸς σοφοὺς ἐπιτήδεια**), τοῦ τε τάφου ἐπιμελήθητι καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἀνάλαβε φαύλως ἐρριμμένον· κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατὰ Μήθυμναν τὴν ἐν Λέσβῳ.’

σοφοῖς – ἐπιτήδεια **A E F** : σοφοὶ – ἐπιτήδειοι Reiske[1] : σοφοῖς γὰρ ⟨πάντα⟩ πρὸς σοφοὺς ἐπιτήδεια aut σοφοὶ – ἐπιτήδειοι Reiske[2] : σοφοῖς γὰρ πρὸς σοφοὺς ἐστὶ κηδεία Hermann : fortasse σοφοῖς – ἐπικήδεια vel σοφοῖς – ἔπι κηδεία; locus admodum suspectus

The general sense of the sentence is clear: Apollonius, being a wise man, is obliged to take care of Palamedes, who is also a wise man. Kayser[1], in his note to the passage (p. 186), claims that the transmitted text is sound. For the use of the neuter plural ἐπιτήδεια he refers to the similar use of the neuter plural φίλα meaning “friendship” in Hdt. 2.152.5 and 5.37.2, where the expression φίλα ποιεῖσθαι is found, but this can hardly justify the use of ἐπιτήδεια ⟨ἐστί⟩.[142] Rinuccino translates *est enim sapientibus viris erga sapientes affinitas quaedam*. The phrase σοφοῖς – ἐπιτήδεια is assigned to Aeschylus’ *Niobe* by Morel without any proof.[143] Hermann 1828, 48–49, suggesting that Morel’s assigning of the phrase to Aeschylus’ *Niobe* was found in a scholium (which in fact is not the case), proposed ἐστὶ κηδεία for ἐπιτήδεια, suggesting that the words are adapted from choral trochaics: ὡς σοφοῖσι πρὸς σοφοὺς | ἐστὶ κηδεία, adding that this is in accordance with Rinuccino’s translation. Reiske’s conjectures, especially σοφοὶ – ἐπιτήδειοι, make perfect sense but it is difficult to explain the corruption.

I have considered reading ἐπικήδεια, which could be taken as a substantivated form of the adjective ἐπικήδειος, “*of* or *at a burial, funeral*” (LSJ s.v. ἐπικήδειος). But although this fits the context because the ghost of Achilles asks Apollonius to take care of the grave and the statue of Palamedes, one can hardly assume that this was a maxim. Instead of Hermann’s ἐστὶ κηδεία I have thought of ἔπι (= ἔπεστι) κηδεία, but forms like ἔπι and πάρα are not found in Philostratus. Therefore I have accepted the transmitted reading, albeit with much doubt.

4.17 (p. 121.12) προϊὼν δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐνετύγχανε Φάληράδε κατιοῦσιν, ὧν οἱ μὲν γυμνοὶ ἐθέροντο (καὶ γὰρ τὸ μετόπωρον εὐήλιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις), οἱ δὲ ἐκ βιβλίων ἐσπούδαζον, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ στόματος **ἤσκηντο**, οἱ δὲ ἤριζον.

ἤσκηντο **A E F** : ἠσκοῦντο Kayser[1App] Kayser[2T]

In the description of the activities of the people in Athens we find a series of three imperfects (ἐθέροντο, ἐσπούδαζον, ἤριζεν) interrupted by the pluperfect ἤσκηντο. Kayser removed the irregularity by changing ἤσκηντο into an imperfect as well, ἠσκοῦντο. But

142 Kayser also mentions Hdt. 3.49.1, where φίλα is found in the first family, while the second family has φιλία or φίλια. Both Hude and Wilson have φίλια in their OCT editions.

143 Morel makes the statement in his synopsis of the chapter. The phrase is included in *TrGF* vol. 3 as nr. 164 with a query; Radt prints the whole phrase with daggers: †σοφοῖς *ἐστι γὰρ πρὸς σοφοὺς ἐπιτήδεια†.

was he right in doing so? Before we answer this question it should be pointed out that it has escaped many translators that ἀπὸ στόματος is a technical term, "from memory": see LSJ s.v. στόμα I.3.b. It contrasts with the immediately preceding ἐκ βιβλίων. Translations such as "quidam orando sese exercebant" (Rinuccino, similarly Olearius), "Andere übten sich mündlich" (Jacobs), "others were sharpening their verbal skills" (Jones) should therefore be rejected. The phrase is rendered correctly by Phillimore ("some [were] practising recitations") and Mooij ("oefenden zich in het uit het hoofd reciteren").[144] Because practising recitations is an unbounded activity, just as the other activities mentioned, Kayser's ἠσκοῦντο would seem to be inescapable. But Schmid 4.76–77 lists a number of passages where the perfect is used as a present and the pluperfect as an imperfect. See also Schmid 2.53, 3.73, 75. Therefore I have decided to keep the transmitted ἤσκηντο. See also note on 1.1.3 (p. 2.3) where Richards conjectured ἐπησκεῖτο for the transmitted ἐπήσκητο.

4.18.1 (p. 121.19) τὰ δὲ Ἐπιδαύρια μετὰ πρόρρησίν τε καὶ **ἱερεῖα δεύ⟨τε⟩ρο⟨ν⟩ μυεῖν** Ἀθηναίοις πάτριον **ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ δευτέρᾳ** κτέ.

ἱερ{ει}ὰ Ziehen ‖ δεύ⟨τε⟩ρο⟨ν⟩ μυεῖν Meurs (et Madvig) : δεῦρο μυεῖν **A E F** : δευτερομυεῖν Reiske[2] (et Madvig) ‖ ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ δευτέρᾳ del. Jacobs[6] ut e scholio ortum

Those who wish to save the transmitted δεῦρο usually follow Olearius who claims that it has temporal meaning, "up to the present day", which is normally expressed by εἰς δεῦρο ("hucusque" Westermann; "still" Conybeare; "even now" Jones). But Schmid 4.147–148 points out that δεῦρο never has a temporal meaning so that this interpretation should be dismissed. Ziehen 1902, on the other hand, takes δεῦρο in its local sense but he changes ἱερεῖα into ἱερά, claiming that ἱερά refers to the statues which were brought from Eleusis to Athens. He then suggests that the words ἱερὰ δεῦρο, "bring the statues here", may have served as the name of the third day of the Greater Mysteries, analogous to the slogan ἄλαδε μυσταί. But the alleged slogan ἱερὰ δεῦρο is not attested anywhere and the whole hypothesis is so speculative that we can dismiss it too.

Meurs was the first to change δεῦρο into δεύτερον, "a second time" (cf. KG 1.314–315 Anmerk. 15). The same conjecture was made independently by Madvig. Reiske[2] (who mentions Meurs' conjecture) and Madvig suggest as an alternative the newly coined verb δευτερομυεῖν, which is paralleled by δευτερολογεῖν, "to speak a second time". Olearius ad loc. and Ziehen 1902, 498 reject δεύτερον μυεῖν because in combination with the following ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ δευτέρᾳ it results in a tautology. I don't agree with this objection: after a second sacrifice there is a second ritual of initiation into the mysteries. I have accepted Meurs' conjecture. — Jacobs, in a note to his German translation, deletes ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ δευτέρᾳ, which he assumes may result from a scholium.

144 Mumprecht's "die ihre Lektion auswendig lernten" wrongly implies that the students did not yet know the texts by heart but were still engaged in learning them.

4.20.1 (p. 122.25) Διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ σπένδειν παρέτυχε μὲν τῷ λόγῳ μειράκιον τῶν ἁβρῶν οὕτως ἀσελγὲς νομιζόμενον, ὡς γενέσθαι ποτὲ καὶ **ἁμαξῶν ᾄσμα** κτέ.

ἁμαξῶν ᾄσμα Bentley : ἀναζώνασμα **A** : ἀμαζόνων ᾄσμα **F** : ἀμαζῶν ᾄσμα **E**^{ac2} : ἀμαζώνων ᾄσμα **E**^{2pc} : μαζονόμων ᾄσμα Erasmus : Μαισώνων ᾄσμα Bochartus : μαζώνων ᾄσμα Olearius : μαγῳδῶν ᾄσμα Jacobs$^{1/2/6}$: ἀμαξέων ᾄσμα aut ἁμαξηγῶν ᾄσμα Reiske^{1} : ἁμαξηγῶν ᾄσμα vel ἀλλαξόνων ᾄσμα Reiske^{2}

We can be pretty sure that the archetype read ἀμαζῶν ᾄσμα, which is devoid of meaning. **F**'s ἀμαζόνων ᾄσμα (repeated by a later corrector of **E**) is in all probability a conscious attempt to arrive at a text which gives intelligible Greek but here the "song of the Amazons" is out of the question. **A**'s *vox nihili* ἀναζώνασμα results from the confusion of μ and ν. What we need is a song with obscene content. Of all conjectures that have been proposed Bentley's ἁμαξῶν ᾄσμα is by far the most attractive. In the first place, it is closest to the transmitted text, supposing the not infrequent confusion of ξ and ζ. In the second place, the phrase "song of the carts" may well refer to the scurrilous songs sung by women during the Eleusinian mysteries, which were the subject of the preceding chapter 18; see sch. Ar. *Pl.* 1014 ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης: Αἱ γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐπὶ ἁμαξῶν ὀχούμεναι εἰς τὰ μεγάλα Ἐλευσίνια ἀπήρχοντο. ὡς ἐπὶ ἁμαξῶν οὖν ὀχουμένων αὐτῶν, ἐπὰν εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα βαδίζωσιν εἰς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια, καὶ λοιδορουσῶν ἀλλήλας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦτο εἶπεν· ἔθος γὰρ ἦν αὐταῖς τοῦτο.

The other conjectures are all based on ἀμαζόνων ᾄσμα, the reading of **F** and the older editions. Erasmus' μαζονόμων ("*trencher for serving barley-cakes on*" LSJ s.v.) refers to banquets. Olearius' μαζόνων is supposed to be a term for young men's feasts. Bochartus's Μαισώνων is related to Μαίσων, a comic character. Jacobs' μαγῳδῶν stands for actors in rude pantomimes. Reiske's ἁμαξηγῶν should refer to wagon drivers but in fact it almost exclusively occurs as a designation of the Zodiac sign Bootes. Reiske's alternative conjecture, ἀλλαξόνων, is supposed to mean "donkey driver" but Reiske himself confesses that he has never encountered the word which is no wonder because it cannot be found in the TLG either. Bentley's conjecture is supported by Paus.Gr. τ 4 = Phot. τ 9 = Suda τ 19 τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαξῶν· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαρακαλύπτως σκωπτόντων· Ἀθήνησι γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῇ οἱ κωμάζοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἔσκωπτόν τε καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς Ληναίοις ὕστερον ἐποίουν.

4.20.2 (p. 123.8) ἐλελήθει δὲ ἄρα δαιμονῶν τὸ μειράκιον· ἐγέλα τε γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐς τὸ κλάειν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον, διελέγετό τε πρὸς **ἑαυτὸ{ν}** καὶ ᾔδεν.

ἑαυτὸ{ν} Jackson

"Possibly ἑαυτὸ. Has he any fixed usage?", Jackson wrote in the margin of his Loeb copy. A good question. Indeed, Philostratus has a fixed usage for the gender of μειράκιον: it is always treated as neuter. Apart from our passage, there are only two cases of the reflexive pronoun referring to μειράκιον in Philostratus: *VA* 8.7.17 (p. 268.6–9) ἀλλὰ τὰ ξανθὰ καὶ διεκτενισμένα μειράκια, τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐξαψάμενα καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας, ἐφ' ἃς κωμάζει, καὶ ἑαυτὰ

μὲν εὐδαίμονα ἡγείσθω καὶ ζηλωτὰ τῆς κόμης καὶ τοῦ λειβομένου ἀπ' αὐτῆς μύρου, and *VS* 1.25.77.2 (p. 55.22 Stefec) ὄνομα μὲν δὴ τῷ μειρακίῳ Οὐᾶρος, διεφθορὸς δὲ ὑπὸ κολάκων ἐπεπείκει αὐτὸ ἑαυτό, ὡς κτέ. (where Stefec does not report variant readings). Further, there are nine passages in Philostratus where we find αὐτό (nominative or accusative) referring to μειράκιον but αὐτός or αὐτόν never occurs. Therefore I have followed Jackson's suggestion to print ἑαυτό. The corruption is easily explained by the relative rareness of this form.

4.20.2 (123.10–11) καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τὴν νεότητα σκιρτῶσαν ᾤοντο ἐκφέρειν αὐτὸ ἐς ταῦτα, ὁ δ' ὑπεκρίνετο ἄρα τῷ δαίμονι **καὶ ἐδόκει παροινεῖν, ἃ ἐπαῤῥνεῖτο {τε}**, ὁρῶντός τε ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου **δεδοικότως** τε καὶ **ὀργίλως** φωνὰς ἠφίει τὸ εἴδωλον, ὁπόσαι καομένων τε καὶ στρεβλουμένων εἰσίν, ἀφέξεσθαί[145] τε τοῦ μειρακίου ὤμνυ καὶ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐμπεσεῖσθαι.

καὶ ἐδόκει παροινεῖν ἃ ἐπαῤῥνεῖτο {τε} Cobet (et Headlam) : καὶ ἐδόκει παροινεῖν ἃ ἐπαῤῥύνει τότε **A E F** : καὶ ἐδόκει παροινεῖν ἃ ἐπαῤῥνεῖ⟨το⟩· τότε ⟨δὲ⟩ (omisso τε cum **F**) Jackson : ἔδει ἄκοντα παροινεῖν ἃ ἐπαῤῥύνει τότε Phillimore ‖ δεδοικότως] δεδιττομένως Reiske[2] : δεδορκότως Jacobs[3] : δεδοικότων Kayser[1App] ‖ ὀργίλως] ὀργίλων Kayser[1App]

The transmitted ἐδόκει παροινεῖν, ἃ ἐπαῤῥύνει is unacceptable because it results in the meaningless "he seemed to do what he did". As Cobet 1859, 158 states, we need something which amounts to ἐδόκει ποιεῖν ἃ ἔπασχεν, which is what we get when we read ἐπαῤῥνεῖτο for ἐπαῤῥύνει. Headlam 1895, 260, who made the same conjecture independently, translates: "he appeared to play mad freaks that were really played upon him." For the latter use of the verb Headlam refers to, among others, D. *Ep.* 4.2 πειράσομαι διαλεχθῆναι περὶ ὧν εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ περὶ ὧν εἰς ὑμᾶς παροινεῖ, and Eus. *Contra Hierocl.* 35.23–25 (p. 178 des Places) καὶ πάλιν, ἣν ἔφησεν ἔμπουσάν τε καὶ λάμιαν ἐμπεπαῤῥνηκέναι τῷ Μενίππῳ. Jackson's ἐπαῤῥνεῖ⟨το⟩· τότε ⟨δὲ⟩ is attractive in itself, explaining the omission of the ending of ἐπαῤῥνεῖ⟨το⟩ as the result of haplography, but he feels himself compelled to add ⟨δὲ⟩ and to remove τε. For τε serving as a particle to connect (parts of) sentences see Schmid 4.559–560.

Reiske and Jacobs wish to take the words δεδοικότως τε καὶ ὀργίλως with the preceding absolute genitive ὁρῶντός τε ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, in which case δεδοικότως cannot stand because Apollonius' look must have been anything but expressing fear. Reiske's δεδιττομένως gives the meaning we might expect but the corruption is hard to explain. Jacobs' δεδορκότως is supposed to mean "sharp" but the phrase can bear this sense only if by "sharp" we understand "penetrating" (cf. LSJ s.v. δέρκομαι II, who refer to Chrysipp. *SVF* 3.198.15 δεδορκὸς βλέπουσα, "to be *keen*-eyed") and not something like "threatening" which we need here. Apart from the difficulties with the transmitted δεδοικότως I think that the sequel suggests that the phrase δεδοικότως τε καὶ ὀργίλως is best taken with the following φωνὰς ἠφίει τὸ εἴδωλον (as is done by most translators). Here the mere look of Apollonius at the demon is sufficient to make him rage with fear; further on, when

145 In my edition I wrongly printed ἄφεξεσθαί.

Apollonius addresses him in anger (ξὺν ὀργῇ) the demon obeys Apollonius' order to leave the young man. This suggests that Apollonius was not yet filled with anger when he first looked at the demon.

4.21.2 (p. 124.16–20) γυνὴ ναύαρχος ἐκ Καρίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔπλευσε μετὰ Ξέρξου, καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ γυναικεῖον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στολὴ καὶ ὅπλα, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἁβρότεροι τῶν Ξέρξου γυναικῶν **ἐφ' αὑτοὺς** στέλλεσθε οἱ γέροντες, οἱ νέοι, τὸ ἐφηβικόν, οἳ πάλαι μὲν ὤμνυσαν ἐς Ἀγραύλου φοιτῶντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖσθαι καὶ ὅπλα θήσεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἴσως ὀμοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος βακχεύσειν καὶ θύρσον λήψεσθαι κόρυν μὲν οὐδεμίαν **φέρον**, γυναικομίμῳ δὲ μορφώματι, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, αἰσχρῶς **διαπρέπον**.

ἐφ' αὑτοὺς scripsi : ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς Kayser$^{1/2}$: ἐπ' αὐτοὺς **A E F** : αὑτοὺς (absque ἐπ') Hamaker : ἔτι αὑτοὺς Jacobs$^{3/6}$ ‖ φέρον – διαπρέπον **A** : φέρων – διαπρέπων **F** : φέρων – διαπρέπον **E** : φέρειν – διαπρέπειν Par.1696^{2pc} : fortasse φέροντες – διαπρέποντες

The first thing that needs to be established is that the verb στέλλεσθε echoes the noun στολή. Whereas Artemisia wore a man's clothing and arms, the present Athenians dress in a way that is "more dainty than Xerxes's harem" (Jones). This parallel gets lost in translations of στέλλεσθε such as "you are setting out to defeat yourselves" (Jones) and "jullie keren je tegen jezelf" (Mooij), in which the element of clothing and arming oneself is absent. Conybeare's translation, "but you are softer than the women of Xerxes' day, and you are dressing yourselves up to your own despite", hits the mark.

The problem is what to do with the transmitted ἐπ' αὐτούς. Hamaker and Jacobs want to get rid of ἐπ', the first omitting it altogether, the second changing it into ἔτι (not ἔθ' as Kayser^{1} wrongly reports). They take αὐτούς (*sic*) as the object to στέλλεσθε; Kayser^{1}, in his note (p. 186), rightly objects that this is "contra usum medii στέλλεσθαι". What is more, the phrase ἐπ' αὐτούς (or ἐφ' αὐτούς) cannot be dispensed with because it serves as the counterpart to ἐφ' ὑμᾶς in γυνὴ ναύαρχος ἐκ Καρίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔπλευσε μετὰ Ξέρξου. The question is who are meant by ἐπ' αὐτούς. The Persians can be dismissed as possible candidates because in the second half of the first century AD there was no quarrel between Greeks and Persians. Reiske argues that αὐτούς refers to the great Athenians of the past, who gave their lives at Salamis and elsewhere. This seems far-fetched to me: the heroes of Salamis were mentioned too long ago for being referred to by the anaphoric αὐτούς and in fact the same goes for Acharnae and Kolonos. And thus we are left with the contemporaneous Athenians who by their way of clothing militate against themselves, so to say: in the time of Xerxes the threat came from without, in Apollonius' days the threat comes from the Athenians themselves.

As to the text we should decide whether the transmitted ἐπ' αὐτούς can mean "against yourselves". Olearius ad loc. argues that ἐπ' αὐτούς can mean the same as ἐφ' αὑτούς, claiming that "Promiscuus enim utriusque pronominis apud Atticos usus", but I very much doubt whether that is really so. Therefore I have decided to print ἐφ' αὑτούς, which involves the change of one letter only.

To end, I might remark that the phrase ἐφ' αὐτοὺς στέλλεσθε is a delightful instance of Philostratean ambiguity, στέλλεσθε meaning "clothe yourselves" and "militate" at the same time.

At the end of the sentence **A** twice has a neuter participle, **F** twice a masculine participle, while **E** first sides with **F** and then with **A**. Thus it is hard to establish what the archetype read; it is possible that it had double readings. The singular neuter participles belonging to the plural masculine subject express that the subject is to be understood as a general category; see KG 1.58–60.

4.21.3 (p. 125.2) ἔδει δὲ ἀλλὰ τούτους γε αἰδεῖσθαι, συμμάχους ὄντας καὶ πνεύσαντας ὑπὲρ **ὑμῶν** μέγα, μηδὲ τὸν Βορέαν κηδεστήν γε ὄντα καὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνέμους ἄρσενα ποιεῖσθαι θῆλυν.

ὑμῶν Marc.XI.29 Par.1696 : ἡμῶν **A E F**

Editors since Kayser[1] have accepted ὑμῶν, found in Marc.XI.29 and Par.1696, instead of ἡμῶν, the reading of the primary mss. Given the fact that in the preceding part of this chapter Apollonius has explicitly mentioned the battle of Salamis it is probable that in this passage he thought of the oracle described in Hdt. 7.178.1 καί σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὔχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους. Therefore it might be argued that ἡμῶν is authentic, referring to all of Greece and not just to the Athenians. However, the gist of Apollonius' rebuke is that the Athenians don't do justice to the gods who help them; this also becomes clear in the sequel of this sentence, in which Apollonius mentions Boreas, who is designated as a relative of the Athenians. Moreover, in 5.20.2 (p. 159.13–14) Apollonius again refers to the gods' help in the battle of Salamis with special reference to the Athenians: καίτοι ναυτικῆς ἀταξίας ἐμπεπλησμένας ἐνέβαινον οἱ θεοὶ ξὺν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ᾤοντο ὑφ' ὑμῶν χραίνεσθαι. And so I have decided to accept ὑμῶν, which is in all probability a conjecture.

4.24.1 (p. 126.17) "δοκεῖτέ μοι" ἔφη "διαβάλλειν τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων δόξαν πρεσβειῶν δεόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς **αὐτόθι** ἥξοντας."

αὐτόθι **A E F** : αὐτόθεν Reiske[1/2] (et Cobet Madvig)

Reiske's conjecture, which was also made independently by Cobet and Madvig, has been met with general approval and it is printed in all editions since Kayser[2] but even so I think the transmitted text should be kept. The conjecture is based on the opposition between "coming on invitation" and "coming of one's own accord". But inviting people who already have the intention to come does not degrade the repute of the Olympic games: it is a superfluous and silly thing to do. What does degrade the repute of the games is when visitors do not come of their own accord but need to be invited because the games do not attract sufficient spontaneous visitors and this is what the transmitted text states. The need to invite visitors who would not have come of their own accord

is also expressed by the participle δεόμενοι, which is out of place with αὐτόθεν because there can never be any need to invite people who come spontaneously. Further, with the transmitted reading the future tense of the participle ἥξοντας has more force than with αὐτόθεν. The future participle expresses the intention of the Eleians: they send embassies in order to make people come. Finally, the conjecture only makes sense if it is obvious that Apollonius already had the intention to visit the Olympic games but this is not stated explicitly.

4.24.2 (p. 126.18–19) "οὗτος" εἶπεν "ὁ αὐχὴν τῆς γῆς τετμήσεται, **μᾶλλον δὲ οὔ**."

fortasse μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ ⟨τετμήσεται⟩

The sense of this dictum is clear: "This neck of land will be cut, or rather not cut" (Jones). The ellipse of τετμήσεται after μᾶλλον δὲ οὔ is harsh, just as it would be in translation: "This neck of land will be cut, or rather not." μᾶλλον δέ is often used for self-correction (see LSJ s.v. μάλα II.3). Where μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ is used, it is normally followed by the word which, on second thoughts, is not considered adequate and then followed by a better alternative. See for instance Demetr. *Eloc.* 112 Τὸ δὲ ποιητικὸν ἐν λόγοις ὅτι μὲν μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ τυφλῷ δῆλόν φασι, πλὴν οἱ μὲν γυμνῇ πάνυ χρῶνται τῇ μιμήσει τῶν ποιητῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ μιμήσει, ἀλλὰ μεταθέσει, καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος. I have not found exact parallels for our passage. Further, it should be noted that at the end of this chapter the dictum is referred to as τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τετμήσεσθαι καὶ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι, with repetition of τετμήσεσθαι. But this is narrator text, whereas in the present passage Apollonius' dictum is reported in direct speech. It may well be that the ellipse of τετμήσεται is intentional, representing Apollonius' lapidary and enigmatic way of expressing himself.

4.24.2 (p. 126.22) αἱ δὲ νῖκαι ἦσαν **κιθαρῳδίαι** καὶ κήρυκες, ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ τραγῳδοὺς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

κιθαρῳδίαι **A** $\mathbf{E}^{2pc}$ **F** : καθαρωδίαι $\mathbf{E}^{ac2}$: κιθαρῳδοὶ Reiske[1]

Reiske's conjecture κιθαρῳδοί for the transmitted κιθαρῳδίαι (which is accepted by Jones) aims at bringing the construction into accordance with the following κήρυκες. Reiske refers to the construction παῖδας νικᾶν (for which see LSJ s.v. νικάω I.1) and argues that αἱ δὲ νῖκαι ἦσαν κιθαρῳδοὶ καὶ κήρυκες stands for οἱ δὲ νενικημένοι ἦσαν κιθαρῳδοὶ καὶ κήρυκες. If κιθαρῳδοί were the transmitted reading I would not have problems with it but the transmitted κιθαρῳδίαι is perfectly acceptable. Schmid 4.524–526 gives numerous instances of variation in coordinated constituents such as 4.21.2 (p. 124.16–17) οἱ γέροντες, οἱ νέοι, τὸ ἐφηβικόν; Schmid also quotes this passage. In our passage κήρυκες is a metonymy for the contest of heralds.

As to the phrase αἱ δὲ νῖκαι ἦσαν κιθαρῳδίαι καὶ κήρυκες: according to some translators (Olearius, Jacobs, Westermann, Mumprecht) this applies only to the Isthmian

Games; thus Mumprecht translates: "Er siegte dann auch auf dem Isthmos, wo Gesänge zur Kithara und Heroldsrufe Gegenstände des Wettstreites waren." Others translate in such a way that the phrase can also apply to the Olympic and Pythian Games; thus Jones has: "(...) intending to subject himself to the rules of the Olympic and Pythian games, though he also won at the Isthmia. His victories were in the lyre-playing and heraldic divisions, and even in tragedy at the Olympics." The plural κιθαρῳδίαι settles the matter in favour of the latter interpretation, witness Paus. 10.7.4 ἀνηγορεύθησαν δὲ νικῶντες Κεφαλήν τε Μελάμπους κιθαρῳδίᾳ καὶ αὐλῳδὸς Ἀρκὰς Ἐχέμβροτος, Σακάδας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐλοῖς, where the singular κιθαρῳδίᾳ is used to indicate the victory in lyre-playing at particular games.[146] If Nero had only won in lyre-playing at the Isthmian Games Philostratus would have written the singular κιθαρῳδία. Moreover, Suet. *Nero* 24 writes: "Victorem autem se ipse pronuntiabat; qua de causa et praeconio ubique contendit." If the victories in heraldic divisions were won at all the games, the same applies to the victories at lyre-playing.

4.25.3 (p. 128.4) θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μενίππου "ὅτι γυνή σοι" ἔφη "ἔστιν οὐ γαμετή" **εἶπεν· "τί δέ;** ἠγῇ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐρᾶσθαι;"

εἶπεν **A E** : εἶπε **FQ** : del. Kayser[1/2]

In the transmitted text, θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μενίππου "ὅτι γυνή σοι" ἔφη "ἐστὶν οὐ γαμετή" εἶπεν, either ἔφη or εἶπεν seems to be superfluous. Olearius omits ἔφη (without note), Kayser deletes εἶπεν. But the repetition of the *inquit* formula is perfectly acceptable in Philostratus. See for instance 4.40.3 (p. 141.5–6) "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν "ἐμὴ γὰρ" ἔφη "αὕτη ἀρχή". See also the note on 2.27.1 (p. 60.14).

Jackson rewrites the whole passage as follows: θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μενίππου "ἔστι γυνή σοι;" ἔφη. "ἔστιν· οὐ γαμετή" εἶπεν. "τί δέ; ἠγῇ κτέ." There are several objections to this solution. To start with, ἔστι γυνή σοι should rather have been ἔστι σοι γυνή, with the enclitic σοι in the so-called Wackernagel position. Further, the position of ἔφη, standing after the complete clause, is unparalleled. In *VA*, ἔφη almost always is positioned after one or a few words of direct speech, even in very short phrases, such as 3.34.2 (p. 97.24) "μῶν" ἔφη "τεττάρων;" and 6.5.2 (p. 184.12–13) θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων "πῶς" ἔφη "λέγεις;" The verb ἔφη can be positioned after direct quotations consisting of one word only, such as in 1.33.2 (p. 33.2–3) ὁ δὲ "αὔριον" ἔφη, καὶ ἅμα ἐφοίτησε κτέ. I have found one case where ἔφη is positioned after a quotation of more than one word, namely 2.5.1 (p. 42.6–7) "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη "ποῦ χθὲς ἦμεν;" ὁ δὲ "ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ" ἔφη, but ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ is a prosodical unity which cannot be split by ἔφη. In the third place Menippus' answer "ἔστιν· οὐ γαμετή" requires an adversative particle between ἔστιν and οὐ γαμετή. All this is fatal to Jackson's admittedly clever reconstruction.

146 See also sch. Ar. *Nu.* 972a (Tzetzes) ἦν δὲ ὁ Φρῦνις κιθαρῳδὸς τῷ γένει Μιτυληναῖος, ὃς πρῶτος δοκεῖ Παναθηναίοις κιθαρῳδίᾳ νικῆσαι ἄρχοντος Καλλίου.

A final word about τί δέ. Autonomous Τί δέ, corresponding to Latin *Quid?*, is very frequent in Plato. In Philostratus this passage is the only occurrence of this use of the phrase. Here the phrase stands within a speech, whereas in Plato it almost always starts a speaker's new turn. Exceptions in Plato are *Cri.* 54a3, *Alc.1* 110e6, 126a2, *Ly*. 209c6, *Ion* 541d5, *R.* 578e1. Thus *Ion* 541d4–6 runs Ἴωνα δ' ἄρα τὸν Ἐφέσιον οὐχ αἱρήσεται στρατηγὸν καὶ τιμήσει, ἐὰν δοκῇ ἄξιος λόγου εἶναι; τί δέ; οὐκ Ἀθηναῖοι μέν ἐστε οἱ Ἐφέσιοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον κτέ. Rijksbaron 2007 ad loc. (p. 233) states that here there is no Topic Shift; he refers to his note on 540d3, in which he refers to Denniston 1954, 176.[147] I think the situation is comparable here. Apollonius' statement "ὅτι γυνή σοι" ἔφη "ἔστιν οὐ γαμετή" εἶπεν introduces the Topic of Menippus' lover. τί δέ; serves to introduce the series of questions Apollonius raises about this lover. And thus the exceptional position of τί δέ; need not bother us.

4.25.4 (p. 128.9) ἐπιφυλάξας οὖν τὸν τοῦ συμποσίου καιρὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ ἐπιστὰς τοῖς δαιτυμόσιν ἄρτι ἥκουσιν "ποῦ" ἔφη "ἡ ἁβρά, δι' ἣν **πίνετε**;"

πίνετε **E FQ** : ἥκετε **A**

This is another instance of Kayser's misplaced predilection for the readings of **A**. πίνετε aptly refers to the symposium which is taking place on the occasion of the wedding; ἥκετε is an obvious *Echoschreibung* of the preceding ἥκουσι.

4.25.4 (p. 128.12) ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος "τοὺς Ταντάλου κήπους" ἔφη "**εἴδετε**, ὡς ὄντες οὐκ εἰσί;"

εἴδετε] οἴδατε Reiske[1]

Reiske gives no arguments for his conjecture but one may suppose that he argued that nobody could ever have seen Tantalus's gardens. But although Reiske's conjecture was accepted by Schenkl and Jones I think that the answer of the wedding guests shows that the transmitted text is perfectly sound. "Yes, ⟨we have seen it⟩ in Homer, because we didn't descend to Hades." It is essential that they say παρ' Ὁμήρῳ, with the dative. Jones, who accepts Reiske's οἴδατε, translates: ""Yes", they said, "from Homer"". But "from Homer" translates παρ' Ὁμήρου, with the genitive, not the transmitted παρ' Ὁμήρῳ.[148] And this is fatal to Reiske's conjecture. The expression "see in Homer" is to be taken literally: it is to be seen in the light of Homeric ἐνάργεια and it is not just equivalent to "read in Homer".[149]

147 For a full discussion of τί δέ; in Plato see Rijksbaron's Appendix 1 (pp. 243–257).

148 Christopher Jones, who accepts Reiske's conjecture, has informed me *per litteras* that he thinks that indeed παρ' Ὁμήρου should be read.

149 The reference is to *Od.* 11.582–592. — For *enargeia* see Allan, de Jong, de Jonge 2016.

4.25.4 (p. 128.16) ὡς δὲ γινώσκοιτε, ὃ λέγω, ἡ χρηστὴ νύμφη μία τῶν ἐμπουσῶν ἐστιν, ἃς λαμίας τε καὶ **μορμολυκ⟨ε⟩ίας** οἱ πολλοὶ ἡγοῦνται.

μορμολυκ⟨ε⟩ίας scripsi : μορμολυκίας **A E FQ** : μορμολυκεῖα Scaliger (et Reiske[2] Meineke)

The normal form of the word is μορμολυκεῖον, in the neuter. Jones, who took his information on Reiske's conjectures from Schenkl,[150] states that in our passage μορμολυκεῖα is Reiske's conjecture for the transmitted μορμολυκίας but in fact Reiske writes the following: "μορμολυκίαν qui dixerit novi neminem. num itaque μορμολυκεῖα scrib. in neutro plur. verum nos non omnes tenemus vocabulorum graecorum formas olim usitatas." As I understand this, the second part of this phrase is a salutary warning against putting all deviant forms on Procrustes' bed and therefore I do not think that we should assume that Reiske favoured reading μορμολυκεῖα here with full certainty. LSJ s.v. μορμολυκεῖον remark that the word also occurs in the feminine form μορμολυκία; the only reference they give for this is the present passage. In our passage it might be tempting to read μορμολυκεῖα because the change into μορμολυκίας could easily be explained as resulting from *Echoschreibung* of the preceding λαμίας. But there is one other occurrence of the feminine, namely Arr. *Epict*. 2.1.15. This passage is all the more interesting because here the feminine form is both preceded and followed by neuter forms of the same word: ταῦτα δ' ὁ Σωκράτης καλῶς ποιῶν μορμολύκεια ἐκάλει. ... τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ παιδία πρὸς τὰς μορμολυκείας. τί γάρ ἐστι παιδίον; ἄγνοια. τί ἐστι παιδίον; ἀμαθία. ... θάνατος τί ἐστιν; μορμολύκειον. In this passage the feminine form τὰς μορμολυκείας (notably with the article) cannot be explained as the result of *Echoschreibung* because there are no words in the direct surroundings which might have provoked the corruption of an authentic τὰ μορμολυκεῖα into τὰς μορμολυκείας. Thus there is a parallel for the feminine form. In addition, the choice for the feminine form in our passage may have been provoked by the fact that the word refers to a woman. For these reasons I accept the feminine form here. — However, I think it would be too strict to keep the transmitted ending -κίας in our passage, given the fact that this ending is only found in a few passages in the mss. of Aesop and in much later sources. Further, the ending -κίας can well be regarded as resulting from the ending of the preceding λαμίας. Therefore I have printed μορμολυκ⟨ε⟩ίας, the form that is also found in Epictetus' *Diatribes*.

4.25.4 (p. 128.17) ἐρῶσι δ' αὗται καὶ ἀφροδισίων μέν, σαρκῶν δὲ μάλιστα ἀνθρωπείων ἐρῶσι καὶ **παλεύουσι** τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσι δαίσασθαι.

παλεύουσι Scaliger (et Lobeck[1]; *alliciunt* vertit Rinuccino) : πάλλουσι **A E FQ** : πιαίνουσι Valckenaer[1/2] : αἰκάλλουσι Jacobs[2] : αἰκάλλουσαι (absque praeeunte καὶ) Ruhnkenius (in epistula ad Valckenaer missa; et Jacobs[6]) : σφάλλουσι Koraes

150 Schenkl only reports Reiske's conjectures themselves, without quoting Reiske's arguments.

The transmitted πάλλουσι, which Morel and Olearius translate as *agitant*, cannot be kept: the vampire intends to allure and soothe the young man and not to agitate him. The palmary conjecture παλεύουσι was made by Scaliger and Lobeck independently. In fact it was already anticipated by Rinuccino, who translates *alliciunt*. It is quite probable that Scaliger and/or Lobeck based their conjecture on Rinuccino's translation.

4.27 (p. 129.19) (...) Λακωνικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ἁβρότερον **αὑτῶν** εἶχον καὶ συβάριδος μεστοὶ ἦσαν.

αὑτῶν **A** : αὐτῶν **FQ** : αὐτὸν **E** : Λυδῶν Valckenaer$^{2/3}$

The older editions have αὐτῶν, which leads to the impossible interpretation "verum mollius se gerebant (sc. Lacones) quam Lacones" (Olearius). This probably induced Valckenaer to conjecture Λυδῶν for αὐτῶν; Valckenaer's conjecture is accepted by Jacobs and Jones. But all that is needed is to change αὐτῶν into αὑτῶν, the reading of **A**. Schmid 4.61–62 gives numerous instances of the genitive of the reflexive pronoun after the comparative in Philostratus, e.g. 4.38.3 (p. 138.11) ἀγριώτερον αὐτοῦ γίνεται. Further on in this same chapter we read that Sparta again was ἑαυτῇ ὁμοία.

4.27 (p. 130.5–6) Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις χαίρειν. Ἀνδρῶν μὲν τὸ **{μὴ}** ἁμαρτάνειν, γενναίων δὲ **τὸ ἁμαρτάνοντας** αἰσθέσθαι, **Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ διορθοῦσθαι**.

μὴ dubitanter del. Penella^{App} ‖ τὸ ἁμαρτάνοντας *Ep.Ap.* : τὸ καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντας **A E** : καὶ τὸ ἁμαρτάνοντας **FQ** ‖ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ (τὸ καὶ **LrPs**) διορθοῦσθαι *Ep.Ap.* : om. **A E FQ**

This letter is also preserved in the collection of the *Letters of Apollonius*, nr. 42a in Penella's edition.[151] Penella's text runs: Ἐφόροις. Ἀνδρῶν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν, γενναίων δὲ τὸ ἁμαρτάνοντας αἰσθέσθαι, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ διορθοῦσθαι. There are two serious textual problems in this brief letter which Apollonius sent to the Spartan ephors: μὴ in τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν and the absence of the final part of the letter in the direct tradition. The clue to the solution of both problems is furnished by the context. The Spartans first made a terrible mistake by behaving effeminately; next, the ephors realized their mistake when they read Apollonius' first letter (which is mentioned at p. 129.21–22, τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπέστειλεν); finally, they restored Sparta to its old and healthy state. Given the fact that Apollonius sent his second letter (that is, the letter presently under discussion) when he heard that the ephors had restored the old situation its tone must

151 Jones, in vol. 3 of his Loeb edition of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, gives the text of the *Letters of Apollonius* in the same order and with the same numbering as Penella but his text is not identical with Penella's text. In this letter, Jones has the heading Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις χαίρειν with Kayser, while Penella has only Ἐφόροις; Jones has γενναίων δὲ τὸ ἁμαρτάνοντας αἰσθέσθαι with Penella, while Kayser has γενναίων δὲ τὸ καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντας αἰσθέσθαι; and Jones omits the final phrase Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ διορθοῦσθαι with Kayser, while it is in Penella.

be positive. Further, we get help from outside: in Lucianus *Demon.* 7 we read ἠγεῖτο γὰρ ἀνθρώπου μὲν εἶναι τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν, θεοῦ δὲ ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἰσοθέου τὰ πταίσματα ἐπανορθοῦν.

The first clause makes a statement about ἄνδρες, the second about γενναῖοι. The ἄνδρες are unqualified, whereas γενναῖοι is explicitly positive. This makes it highly improbable that ἄνδρες is to be understood as "true men", as most translators do, in order to make τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν understandable in the context. Moreover, if the first phrase is "It is the mark of true men not to err", the second statement comes as an anticlimax: the γενναῖοι have erred and therefore are not "true men". This could hardly count as a compliment to the Spartan ephors. Penella, in his note on *Ep.Ap.* 42a, rightly states: "But perhaps delete μὴ before ἁμαρτάνειν and understand ἀνδρῶν to mean "mere men", inferior to γενναίων, who in turn are inferior to the Lacedaemonians." I find this quite convincing: *errare humanum est*, but noble men are ready and able to face their errors and to correct them. By the opening phrase Ἀνδρῶν μὲν τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν Apollonius makes it clear that he forgives the Spartans their former effeminate behaviour. Moreover, if we omit μή our text matches the quotation from Lucian.[152] Thus I follow Penella's tentative suggestion to delete μή.

Let us now turn to the final phrase of the letter in *Ep.Ap.*, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ διορθοῦσθαι, which is absent from the mss. of *VA*. I would adduce three arguments in favour of the authenticity of this phrase in *VA*. In the first place, it aptly echoes the observation in the immediately preceding narrator's text, μαθὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς τὰ οἴκοι διορθουμένους. This shows that the ephors did not only realize that Apollonius' reproaches were justified but that they immediately came into action and that they did so successfully. In the second place, with this phrase Apollonius' letter once more agrees with Demonax' saying quoted by Lucian which ends with τὰ πταίσματα ἐπανορθοῦν. In the third place, given the fact that the letters that are common to *VA* and to the separate collection of letters were extracted from *VA* and added to the collection as a kind of supplement,[153] I think it more likely that the phrase Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ διορθοῦσθαι got lost in a predecessor of our medieval mss. rather than that they were added later by an interpolator, either in a copy of *VA* or in a copy of the collection of letters. The omission may well be explained as resulting from homoioteleuton of αἰσθέσθαι and διορθοῦσθαι.

As to the addition of καί in the second colon in the mss. of *VA*, the particle is quite superfluous here, irrespective of the question whether or not the final colon belongs in the text. In this respect too I have followed the text of *Ep.Ap.* Maybe καί was added in the archetype of the direct tradition to highlight what looked like the conclusion of the saying after the real conclusion, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ διορθοῦσθαι, had been omitted.

There is no saying whether Philostratus knew Demonax' dictum, either from Lucian or from another source. Apollonius certainly did not know it but then it is quite

152 For the thought that for humans it is impossible to never err cf. also the penultimate line of the epigram in D. 18.289 μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν, which he throws in Aeschines' teeth.

153 See the Introduction, pp. 6–8.

possible that this letter is a forgery by Philostratus. Philostratus' motive for composing a tricolon may well be that he wished to extol the Spartans above all others: they are men and therefore they err; they are noble men and therefore they realize their errors; they are Spartans and therefore they are, alone among all humans, able to correct their errors.

4.28.1 (p. 130.10) ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἑστάναι μὲν ἐπὶ δίσκου δοκεῖ τὸ πόδε ἄμφω **ξυμβεβηκώς** κτέ.

συμβεβηκὼς **F** : συμβεβληκὼς **Q** : ξυμβεβληκὼς **A E**

For the collocation τὸ πόδε ἄμφω ξυμβεβηκώς there are two parallels: Poll. 3.91 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἑστηκότων συμβεβηκὼς ἄμφω τὼ πόδε, προβεβηκὼς τὸν ἕτερον, διαβεβηκώς, and Porph. περὶ ἀγαλμάτων 10 (= Eus. *PE* 3.11.47) ἀνθρωποειδές ἐστιν ἄγαλμα, τοὺς μὲν πόδας συμβεβηκότας ἔχον, ἄνωθεν δὲ μέχρι ποδῶν ποικίλον ἱμάτιον περιβεβλημένον.[154] Therefore **F**'s ξυμβεβηκώς can be regarded as the authentic reading. It is remarkable that in *VA* 6.4.2 (p. 183.12–13) we find the same collocation in the form ξυμβεβηκέναι δὲ τὼ πόδε ἄμφω; here too **A** and **E** have ξυμβεβληκέναι. **Q**, **F**'s gemellus, has συμβεβληκὼς in the present passage and ξυμβεβηκέναι in 6.4.2. Thus, if we suppose that in both passages ξυμβεβηκ- is the authentic reading we must assume that the corruption from ξυμβεβηκ- to ξυμβεβληκ- took place twice in the archetype.

I have not found parallels for τὸ πόδε ἄμφω ξυμβεβληκώς but there are some instances of ξυμβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας or τοὺς δακτύλους: Arr. *An*. 2.5.3 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ Σαρδανάπαλος συμβεβληκὼς τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλαις ὡς μάλιστα ἐς κρότον συμβάλλονται; Ath. 12.39 καὶ ἦν οὐ πόρρω τὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου μνημεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ ἑστάναι τύπον λίθινον συμβεβληκότα τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους, ὡς ἂν ἀποκροτοῦντα; Str. 14.5.9 ἐνταῦθα δ' εἶναι μνῆμα τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου καὶ τύπον λίθινον συμβάλλοντα τοὺς τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς δακτύλους ὡς ἂν ἀποκροτοῦντα; These three passages all concern a statue of Sardanapalus who claps his hands or snaps his fingers, and thus they do not really count as parallels for the reading τὸ πόδε ἄμφω ξυμβεβληκώς in our passage.

4.28.1 (p. 130.11–12) (...) ἡ δεξιὰ δέ, ὀρθοὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκείνης οἱ δάκτυλοι καὶ **οἷον διείροντος**.

οἷον διείροντος Hamaker (et Jackson) : οἷον vel οἷοι διείροντος Phillimore : οἷον διείροντες **A E FQ**

Olearius translates the transmitted reading οἷον διείροντες as "arctissime sibi invicem coniunguntur". Reiske and Hamaker rightly point out that the verb διείρειν cannot have this meaning; διείρειν is always transitive. LSJ s.v. διείρω II.1 mention our passage as the only instance of the intransitive use of the word without, however, giving its meaning. Schmid 4.350 s.v. διείρω comments: "Ganz neu ist intransitives διείρω ... (zusammengewachsen)"; thus Schmid accepts Olearius' untenable translation. But although

154 The passage from Porphyry is not an exact parallel because the construction is different.

διείρειν as such cannot mean "stick together" it should at any rate point to such an effect, witness the remark further on, τῷ τὰς διαφυὰς ἐν ὀρθοῖς τοῖς δακτύλοις εὖ ξυνηρμόσθαι, which can only mean that there was no space between the fingers. Therefore we probably must assume that Philostratus refers to the way we keep our fingers when we use our hands as a kind of shovel (just as moles do) or when we pass our hand through a narrow aperture.

Reiske gives no alternative for the transmitted text but Hamaker proposes changing διείροντες either into συνείροντες, which he takes as "cohaerentes", or rather into διείροντος. The same conjecture was made independently by Phillimore and Jackson. Hamaker 1816, 83 translates the phrase as "*Erecti erant digiti, et quasi* (manum) *inserentis*". This seems to find support in the remark at the end of the chapter, namely that the right hand signifies that Milo is praying: Olearius aptly notes that Milo stretches out his hand.

4.28.1 (p. 130.12) οἱ μὲν δὴ κατ' Ὀλυμπίαν τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν **λόγ⟨ι⟩οι** τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἱστοροῦσι τοῦτον ἄτρεπτον γενέσθαι.

λόγ⟨ι⟩οι Reiske^{2} : λόγοι **A E FQ**

ἱστοροῦσι almost always has either no expressed subject ("they say") or a personal subject. I have found one case where οἱ λόγοι is the subject, namely Eus. *DE* 9.5.10 Ζητῶν δὲ παρ' ἐμαυτῷ τί ἄρα ἦν τὸ ἐκπλῆξαν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, ὡς θαυμάσαι αὐτὸν καὶ κηρύττοντι «βάπτισμα μετανοίας» πιστεῦσαι, πάντας τε πανταχόθεν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπολιπόντας συρρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον, μάλιστα ὅτε μηδεμίαν αὐτοῦ πρᾶξιν ἱστοροῦσιν οἱ λόγοι· οὔτε γὰρ νεκροὺς ἐγείρας οὔτε ἕτερα θαύματα πεποιηκὼς ἀναγέγραπται. But in Christian authors οἱ λόγοι stands for the Holy Scriptures, which might be taken as more or less personified. And it is still more improbable that λόγοι can be the subject of ἡγοῦνται, the second predicate in this sentence. Therefore I have accepted Reiske's elegant correction.

4.30.1 (p. 131.15) "τί οὖν" ἔφη "ἐπαινέσῃ τοῦ Διός; **ἦ** τὸν Δία τὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅμοιον;"

ἦ Jones : ἢ **A E FQ**

The choice between ἦ and ἢ is one to be made by the editor. Although the mss. tell us how the scribes took the words they cannot be trusted to represent with certainty what the author intended. In contexts such as this one we find both ἦ and ἢ in our editions. For ἦ see KG 2.526–527; for ἢ see KG 2.532–533. KG 2.526 remark that ἦ is "Oft ironisch, in Fragen des Spottes, Erstaunens oder Unwillens". This applies well to our passage, where Apollonius discusses with the preposterous young man who is boasting about his speech on Zeus. Therefore I have accepted Jones' correction. There is one more place in *VA* where we have to choose between ἦ and ἢ, namely 1.8.2 (p. 9.6) ποῖ τρέχεις; ἦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφηβον; There too the question is ironical and I have accepted Olearius' correction of the mss. reading.

The matter is discussed in detail by Rijksbaron 2007 in his note on *Ion* 530a2 (pp. 103–106). Rijksbaron concludes (p. 106): "All in all we are dealing here with a heads or tails situation: both variants can be defended equally well. In fact, I made a coin decide that ἢ should be read." I do not agree with Rijksbaron's argumentation but I believe that luck made his coin land with the right side up. *Ap.* 37b5 τί δείσας; ἦ μὴ πάθω τοῦτο οὗ Μέλητός μοι τιμᾶται, quoted by Rijksbaron 2007, 105, is mentioned by KG 2.526 as an instance of the ironical use of ἦ. The ironical interpretation is also valid for the other two Platonic passages quoted by Rijksbaron, namely *Chrm.* 173d8–9 τίνος ἐπιστημόνως λέγεις; ἦ σκυτῶν τομῆς; and *Grg.* 452a7–8 Τί οὖν λέγεις; ἦ τὸ τῆς σῆς τέχνης ἔργον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀγαθόν; In the opening sentence of the *Ion* ἦ might have given the wrong suggestion of irony; there is a lot of irony in this dialogue but not in the opening sentence. By the same token, at *Smp.* 173a8 ἀλλὰ τίς σοι διηγεῖτο; ἢ αὐτὸς Σωκράτης; (mentioned by Rijksbaron 2007, 104–105, with the suggestion that ἦ is also possible) I agree with Burnet's decision to print ἢ; here too there is no irony.

4.30.2 (p. 131.24) κεχαλινωμένον δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ μειράκιον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου "ὁ ἐγκωμιάζων," εἶπεν "ὦ συγγραφεῦ, πότερον ἃ οἶδεν ἐπαινέσεται ἄμεινον ἢ ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν;"

κεχαλινωμένον **A E FQ** : κεχαυνωμένον Reiske[2]

Apollonius rebuts the would-be rhetorician in two phases: first he ridicules his writing eulogies of diseases and then he crushes him by pointing out that he ventures to praise Zeus while he refrains from praising his own father because he is so great that his son's speech might dishonour him by being inadequate. With the transmitted reading κεχαλινωμένον, "bridled", the young man realizes that Apollonius' suggestion to praise dropsy and so on is not meant to be taken seriously and therefore he holds his tongue. With Reiske's conjecture κεχαυνωμένον, "puffed up", he takes Apollonius' suggestions at face value and he is flattered by them. In this way the preposterousness of the young man comes out much better and the effect of Apollonius' exposing the young man's silliness is much more devastating.

The verb χαλινοῦν, "bridle", and its cognates normally apply to horses. It can be used metaphorically in combination with γλῶττα, as in Ph. *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* 44 τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀχαλίνῳ κεχρημένους γλώττῃ μετ' αὐθαδείας θρασύνεσθαι παράδοξον οὐδέν. This use is also found in *VA* 4.26 (p. 129.13) χαλινὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γλώττῃ. It is to be noted that in cases where the χαλιν- word occurs together with γλῶττα it always applies to the tongue directly, that is, we don't find phrases such as *ὁ ἀνὴρ χαλινοῦται τὴν γλῶτταν, "the man is bridled with regard to his tongue". In other cases where the word is metaphorically applied to men we usually find a marker of metaphor, as at Plu. *Arat.* 38.11 οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἐπέβη τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς δεομένοις καὶ ὑποβάλλουσιν αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν καὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, ἢ τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμήροις ὥσπερ χαλινουμένους ἀνασχέσθαι, or Chor. 2.2.23 αἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἀνεκτότεραι μὲν ἢ στρατιῶται οἵἁπερ ἐντολαῖς κεχαλινωμέναι βασιλικαῖς. Thus the absolute use of κεχαλινωμένον in our passage is exceptional.

The fact that the phrase χαλινὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γλώττῃ occurs two pages earlier can be used in two ways. Either we may suppose that an authentic κεχαυνωμένον was turned into κεχαλινωμένον as the result of *Echoschreibung* or we may assume that Philostratus intended his readers to remember the previous passage, χαλινὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γλώττῃ.

If both readings were equally supported by the mss. I would opt for κεχαυνωμένον. But because κεχαλινωμένον is found in all the mss. printing κεχαυνωμένον might well be an attempt to improve the author and therefore I have decided to stick to the transmitted text.

4.31.1 (p. 132.16–17) ἐρομένου δὲ Κορινθίου τινὸς κατὰ ἀχθηδόνα, εἰ καὶ θεοφάνια αὐτῷ ἄξουσι, "**νὴ** τὼ σιώ," **ἔφη⟨σαν⟩** "ἕτοιμά γε."

νὴ] ναὶ Kayser^{1Add} Kayser^{2T} (et Cobet) ‖ ἔφη⟨σαν⟩ Olearius : ἔφη **A E FQ**

The Spartan ναὶ τὼ σιώ is especially known to us from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (81bis etc.). Kayser^{1}, in the *Corrigenda et addenda* at the end of work (p. 80), remarks: "Debuit ναὶ τὼ σιώ (...) sed omnes libri tenent νή". It is not clear whether he means that Philostratus made a mistake or that the transmission is wrong. Cobet 1859, 125 argues that ναί should be restored in our passage because the Dorians always use ναί in phrases of this type. He adds: "Itaque qui τὼ σιώ servat pro τὼ θεώ, eidem ναί quoque servandum. Non minus ineptum est mulierculam Atticam ναὶ τὼ θεώ inducere dicentem quam Spartanum virum νὴ τὼ σιώ." However, I think it quite possible that Philostratus wrote such a conflation of two dialects, either on purpose or by accident. There are other cases where Philostratus imitates standing phrases imperfectly. Cobet 1859, 176 mentions Philostratus' adaptation of the Platonic idiom ἦ δ' ὃς ὁ Σωκράτης (*Phd.* 78b4), in which Philostratus omits ὅς: see for instance 6.13.4 (p. 198.20) ἦ δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος. The phrase νὴ τὼ σιώ may well belong to the same category.[155] It is also found five times in Plutarch's *Apophthegmata Laconica*.

Now for the second problem, the transmitted ἔφη. The context makes it clear that the answer is given by the Spartans. Apollonius, as was only to be expected, protests against receiving divine honour. At first sight, however, the reader assumes that Apollonius is the subject of ἔφη. Richards 1909, 107 asks the question: "Is ἔφη for ἔφη τις (?) right?" Kayser^{1}, in his note on this passage, rejects Olearius' ἔφησαν with the argument "Puta aliquem Laconicum respondere". As far as I can see this would be the only place in *VA* where Philostratus uses the singular ἔφη to express that one anonymous member of a group answers on behalf of the whole group. Normally he uses the plural ἔφασαν in

155 I cannot resist the temptation to quote Jackson's discussion of the genitive τιήρας in A. *Pers.* 661–662 (Jackson 1955, 28): "He who writes τιάρας, with the lemma of ΣM, may have brushed away the early dew of morning from an old-world flower upon which he would certainly wish to leave it; he who retains τιήρας retains a word which, for all that is known or knowable, might have touched in an Athenian breast the same chord as would be touched on the farther side of Tweed by 'auld lang since', or even the variant 'old long syne'."

such cases. In cases where the singular is used, the subject of the singular predicate can be identified from the context. See for instance 3.26.1–2 (p. 91.19–92.5) where Apollonius discusses with Iarchas and the other Indian magi: ἀχθεσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας "εἰ δὲ Φραώτης" ἔφη "καταλύων ἐτύγχανεν (...)." ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ξυνῆκεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος (...) "ποῖ" ἔφη "ὁ βασιλεὺς διαιτήσεται;" "ἐνταῦθα," ἔφασαν, "ὧν γὰρ ἕνεκα ἥκει (...)." "καὶ τράπεζα" ἔφη "παρακείσεται ἥκοντι;" "νὴ Δία," εἶπεν "παχεῖά τε καὶ πάντα ἔχουσα, ὁπόσα ἐνταῦθα." "παχέως οὖν" ἔφη "διαιτᾶσθε;" "ἡμεῖς μὲν" ἔφασαν "λεπτῶς, (...) ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ" ἔφη "οὗτος." It might be better to say that ἔφασαν, εἶπον and the like are used to indicate that one person speaks on behalf of all. It is out of the question that in 3.26 all the magi are speaking simultaneously; Iarchas must be the one who answers Apollonius' questions in the name of all the magi. See note on 3.26.2 (p. 91.26). In our passage, however, there is no Spartan singled out who might be taken as the subject of ἔφη and therefore ἔφη cannot stand. It is telling that most translations have the plural; exceptions are Chassang ("s'écria un Lacédémonien") and Mumprecht ("Da rief einer"). But, to answer Richards' question, single ἔφη cannot stand for ἔφη τις. I assume that the change was made (consciously or unconsciously) by a scribe who thought that the Corinthian addressed Apollonius and not the Spartans with his question. Although Philostratus usually has the imperfect ἔφασαν I have followed Olearius in printing ἔφησαν here because this makes it easier to explain the corruption into ἔφη.[156]

4.31.2 (p. 132.26) ἐρομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τί περὶ ἀνδρείας συμβουλεύοι, "καὶ τί" ἔφη "**⟨ἢ⟩** τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ **χρήσασθαι**;"

⟨ἢ⟩ supplevit Reiske$^{1/2}$ ‖ χρήσασθαι Jackson : χρήσεσθε **A E FQ** : χρήσεσθαι Crac.VIII.16.2: χρῆσθαι Reiske$^{1/2}$

The final question the Spartans ask is what Apollonius advises them with regard to courage. In the transmitted text he answers: "Well, what use will you have for courage?" (Jones). According to Hamaker 1816, 88 this means that the Spartans have no opportunity to display their courage because they are no longer independent but have to obey the Romans. Given the general admiration Apollonius has for the Spartan way of life this comes as an anticlimax. In fact, it amounts to discouraging them from cultivating courage, the Spartans' unique selling point *par excellence*. I therefore believe that the text is corrupt. Combining two conjectures by Reiske and Jackson I think we arrive at a satisfactory text. Reiske supplies ἢ after ἔφη; Jackson changes the transmitted χρήσεσθε into χρήσασθαι. This results in: "What else than to make use of it?", which sounds like a very Laconic answer, given by Apollonius to the Laconians.

What has happened, I think, is the following. First ἢ disappeared as the result of haplography, as it was immediately preceded by ἔφη. The disappearance of ἢ may also

156 The only finite form of the aorist ἔφησα in Philostratus is *VS* 1.25.74.3 (p. 52.14 Stefec). There are numerous instances of the aorist participle φήσας.

have been influenced by the rare idiom τί ἤ, for which we usually find τί ἄλλο ἤ or τί ἀλλ' ἤ. For the condensed phrase compare J. *AJ* 16.258 καὶ τί γὰρ ἦ καθάπερ λύττης τινὸς ἐμπεσούσης κατ' ἀλλήλων οἱ πάλαι φίλτατοι τεθηρίωντο; Origenes *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* 2.37.224 Καὶ τί γὰρ ἦ πανταχοῦ μάρτυς καὶ πρόδρομος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐστιν ὁ Ἰωάννης; — Without ἤ the infinitive χρήσασθαι could no longer be construed and accordingly it was changed into the future indicative χρήσεσθε. The future infinitive χρήσεσθαι, which is reported by Olearius to have been in the Vratislaviensis (nowadays Crac. VIII.16.2), was accepted by Olearius and Conybeare, cannot stand.

4.32.1 (p. 133.6) "ὦ λῷστε," ἔφη "τί πεφροντικὼς **περίεις** καὶ μεστὸς ἐννοίας;"

περίεις Lugd.73D (ci. Reiske[2] Jacobs[6]) : παρίης **A E F**[1s1] : παρίεις **FQ** : περίει Cobet

In our mss. περι and παρα are constantly confused because of the similarity of the compendia for these words. As to the un-Attic ending -εις instead of -ει see note on 4.15.2 (p. 118.14) δίεις.

4.32.1 (p. 133.11) "μῶν" ἔφη "τὸν ἐν Ἀργινούσαις λέγεις"; "ἐκεῖνον" εἶπε "τὸν ἐν τῇ ***ναυμαχίᾳ*** ἀποθανόντα."

ναυμαχίᾳ Jackson : *ναυαρχίᾳ* **A E FQ**

Jackson's conjecture is excellent. The collocation ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ occurs frequently, especially in combination with a verb of dying (e.g. D.S. 14.60.6 ἀπώλοντο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῶν μὲν Καρχηδονίων οὐκ ὀλίγοι) whereas ἐν τῇ ναυαρχίᾳ is only attested in our passage. The mss. reading results from *Echoschreibung* of ναυαρχησάντων one line above.

4.32.2 (p. 133.14) ἀλλ' ἐμπόρων τε καὶ ναυκλήρων κακοδαιμονέστερον **τί** ἐρεῖς ἔθνος;

τί Reiske[1] : τι **A E FQ**

With enclitic τι, which is in all the mss. and editions (except Jones' revised 2012 edition), the text means: "Well, and can you mention any rabble of people more wretched and ill-starred than merchants and skippers?" (Conybeare). Reiske proposes to give τι an acute accent, thus turning it into the interrogative pronoun, which gives a much stronger meaning: "But what more godforsaken class can you name than merchants and ship's captains?" (Jones).[157] For a parallel construction see Gal. 15.883.6–9 Kühn ἀναισθητότατοι ⟨δὴ⟩ πάντων ἦσαν οἱ μνηστῆρες εἰς διάγνωσιν ὑγιεινῶν τε ἅμα καὶ ἡδέων ἐδεσμάτων, ὥσπερ κἀν τῷ τὰς γαστέρας τῶν αἰγῶν ἐσθίειν τὰς ἐμπλησθείσας αἵματός τε καὶ λίπους, οὗ δυσπεπτότερον τί ἂν εὕροις ἔδεσμα;

157 Jones has this translation also in his 2005 edition, in which he prints enclitic τι.

4.32.2 (p. 133.16) πρῶτον μὲν περινοστοῦσι ζητοῦντες ἀγορὰν κακῶς πράττουσαν, εἶτα προξένοις καὶ καπήλοις ἀναμιχθέντες πωλοῦσί τε καὶ **ὠνοῦνται** κτέ.

ὠνοῦνται Cobet : πωλοῦνται **A E FQ**

This is another obvious case of *Echoschreibung*, caused by the immediately preceding πωλοῦσι. Cobet 1859, 129, when proposing the conjecture ὠνοῦνται, dryly remarks: "nam non memini mercatores *vaenire* solere".

4.32.2 (p. 133.20) εἰ δὲ ἡ ἐμπορία πρὸς τὰ χρέα μὴ ἀναφέροιτο, μεταβάντες εἰς τὰ ἐφόλκια προσαράττουσι τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸν ἑτέρων **{ναῦται}** βίον θεοῦ ἀνάγκην εἰπόντες ἀθεώτατα καὶ οὐδὲ ἄκοντες αὐτοὶ ἀφείλοντο.

ναῦται del. Kayser[1/2] : οὗτοι Kayser[1App] : ναυαγοὶ Jacobs[3] : ναυ⟨αγ⟩ίᾳ dubitanter Jackson

The transmitted ναῦται is puzzling. Whether ναῦται is retained or replaced by the predicative nominative ναυαγοί, as Jacobs proposes, its position within the constituent τὸν ἑτέρων βίον is so awkward that it cannot be accepted and the same goes for Jackson's suggestion ναυ⟨αγ⟩ίᾳ. I cannot think of any word which may have stood at the basis of the transmitted ναῦται so the choice is between printing the word between daggers or deleting it. I prefer Kayser's solution, assuming that the word may have originated as a gloss on ἑτέρων but I would be happy to find another solution.

4.32.4 (p. 134.4–5) τούτοις τὸν νεανίαν οὕτω **τι ἐχειρώσατο** τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς νεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν κλαίειν, ἐπεὶ **τοσοῦτον** ἀπολελεῖφθαι τῶν πατέρων, ἀποδόσθαι τε τὰς ναῦς, ἐν αἷς ἔζη.

τι ἐχειρώσατο Westermann : διεχειρώσατο **A E FQ** ‖ τοσοῦτον **E FQ** : τοσοῦτον ἤκουσεν **A**

The rare verb διαχειρόομαι means "kill".[158] Even in a metaphorical sense (in which it is not found elsewhere) "kill" seems too strong a word for our passage. Therefore I accept Westermann's convincing conjecture. The *simplex* χειρόομαι is also found elsewhere in combination with a form of λόγος in the meaning "to convince someone"; see for instance Pl. *Sph.* 219c5 τὰ μὲν χειροῦται λόγοις καὶ πράξεσι. As to the collocation οὕτω τι, there are 24 occurrences in *VA* (apart from this passage) and 26 in the other extant works by Philostratus.

Schmid 4.83–84 lists numerous cases in Philostratus where there is an infinitive in a subordinate clause, predominantly in temporal clauses. He mentions one parallel for a causal clause with an infinitive, namely *VA* 6.4.1 (p. 183.4–6) Ἠοῦς μὲν παῖδα γενέσθαι αὐτόν, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς Τροίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ τελευτῆσαι βασιλεύσαντα Αἰθιόπων γενεὰς πέντε. The addition of ἤκουσεν in **A** is a clumsy attempt to smooth out the syntax.

158 For this word see Boter forthc. (in RhM).

4.33 (p. 134.13) πρὸς ταῦτα ξύμβουλον **ἐποιοῦντο ⟨τό⟩τε** τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἤθους, ὁ δέ, ὡς εἶδε διεστηκότας, παρῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ὧδε ἐβραχυλόγησε.

ἐποιοῦντο ⟨τό⟩τε scripsi praeeunte Reiske[2] (ἐποιοῦντο ⟨παρόντα⟩ vel ⟨ἐπιδημοῦντα⟩ ⟨τό⟩τε) : ἐποιοῦντό τε **E FQ** : ἐποίουν τότε **A**[1sl] : ἐποιοῦντο **A**

In the reading of **E FQ**, ἐποιοῦντό τε, the particle τε cannot be possibly construed. This probably induced (a predecessor of) the scribe of **A** to omit it, with the alternative reading ἐποίουν τότε above the line, which is another way of getting rid of τε. But in phrases like this the middle voice is needed (cf. note on 6.43.3 [p. 221.23]). ἐποιοῦντο ⟨τό⟩τε combines the readings of **E FQ** and **A**[1sl]; the corruption is easily explained as the result of haplography.

4.34.3 (p. 135.12) (...) μῦθόν τε ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ᾄδουσιν, ὡς λέων εἷς οὗτος γένοιτο τῶν **ὑποζυγίων** ποτὲ τῇ Ῥέᾳ.

ὑποζυγίων] ὑποζυγέντων Cobet

Cobet 1859, 130 states that in this passage the participle ὑποζυγέντων has been corrupted into the noun ὑποζυγίων. A TLG search shows that the participle ὑποζυγείς is found only three times, all very late. And the only attested occurrence of ὑπεζύγην is S. *Aj.* 24. I think that the transmitted ὑποζυγίων is perfectly acceptable if we take the dative τῇ Ῥέᾳ as a *dativus commodi*, loosely connected to τῶν ὑποζυγίων. As an alternative, Donald Mastronarde has suggested to me: "Perhaps one should view the word as an adjective (as LSJ s.v. ὑποζύγιον I note it can be) and τῶν ὑποζυγίων as a concise way of saying τῶν λεόντων ὑποζυγίων ὄντων τῇ Ῥέᾳ or τῶν λεόντων τῶν ὑποζυγίων τῇ Ῥέᾳ."

4.35 (p. 135.28–136.1) ἐῶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ Μουσώνιος ὁ **Βουλσίνιος**, ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου μόνου δεύτερος, ἐδέθη ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν ὢν **ἐκινδύνευεν**, ἀπέθανε δ' ἂν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δήσαντι, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἔρρωτο.

Βουλσίνιος Nieuwland : Βαβυλώνιος **A E FQ** : ὡς Βαβυλώνιος Olearius ‖ ἐκινδύνευεν **A** : ἐκινδύνευσεν **E FQ**

In *VA* there are several passages where a Musonius is mentioned. Apart from the present passage he has an epistolary exchange with Apollonius at the end of book 4 (chapter 46.2–5 [p. 145.11–21]); he is then still in prison. Another mention of a Musonius is found in 5.19.2 (p. 158.21–27), where he is digging at the canal of Corinth, and in 7.16.2 (p. 236.20–25), where he is in exile on the isle of Gyara. Finally, there is also a Musonius in *VS* 2.1.10.1 (p. 70.5 Stefec).

When one hears the name of Musonius in connection with philosophy one naturally thinks of Musonius Rufus, the teacher of Epictetus. This Musonius was of Etruscan origin. In Suda μ 1305 we read that he came from the city of Volsinii (modern Bolsena). Therefore it is surprising to find him labelled as a Babylonian in our passage and as a Tyr-

ian in the passage from *VS*. Olearius argues that the Musonius mentioned in *VA* 4.35, 4.46.1–5 and 5.19.2 ("Musonius the Babylonian") is identical with Musonius Rufus ("Musonius the Tyrrhenian") mentioned in *VA* 7.16.2. He leaves the word Βαβυλώνιος unchanged, adding the particle ὡς before it and explaining the text as follows: "ut *Babylonius* igitur h.e. *Chaldaeus* vel *Magus* Musonius in vincula coniectus". Nieuwland 1822, 27–37 agrees with Olearius that Musonius the Babylonian and Musonius the Tyrrhenian in *VA* are one and the same but he rejects Olearius' explanation because there are no further attestations for Βαβυλώνιος in the sense of *magus*. Nieuwland (p. 35) proposes reading Βουλσίνιος (or Καπίτωνος, the name of Musonius' father) instead of the transmitted Βαβυλώνιος, basing himself on Suda μ 1305, Μουσώνιος, Καπίτωνος, Τυρρηνός, πόλεως Βουλσινίου, διαλεκτικὸς φιλόσοφος καὶ Στωϊκός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, γνώριμος δ' Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν· πρὸς ὃν καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ φέρονται Ἀπολλωνίου κἀκείνου πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον.

The matter is discussed in detail by Parker 1896 and by Von Fritz 1933. Parker concludes that Musonius the Babylonian and Musonius the Tyrian are one and the same but, so he claims, he is to be distinguished from the Etruscan Musonius. Von Fritz, on the other hand, argues that in the passage in *VS* the transmitted Τυρίῳ is a corruption of Τυρρηνῷ. According to von Fritz, Musonius the Babylonian (his Musonius (3)) is to be distinguished from Musonius the Etruscan (his Musonius (1)).[159]

I fully agree with Nieuwland: in *VA* there is only one Musonius. If we assume that Musonius the Babylonian and Musonius the Tyrrhenian are two different men we have to accept the statistically improbable fact that there were two philosophers with the name Musonius at the same time, both highly esteemed and both having a serious quarrel with Nero. And armed with Occam's razor I am also ready to accept that the Musonius mentioned in *VS* is identical with the Musonius of *VA*. Of Nieuwland's two proposed conjectures I prefer Βουλσίνιος because it is much closer to the transmitted Βαβυλώνιος. The TLG gives only three attestations for Βουλσίνιος and its cognates and thus it is not surprising that this very rare name was corrupted to the well-known Βαβυλώνιος (especially after Μουσώνιος). The TLG gives seven attestations of Οὐολσίν-. As to the spelling Βουλσίνιος with an initial β it should be pointed out that Philostratus uses both β and ου to render Latin non-syllabic *u*. For the first see for instance Βιτέλλιος and Βίνδιξ, for the second Οὐεσπασιανός. Nieuwland's Βουλσίνιος is also accepted by Baltzer 1883 in his note on 4.35 (p. 189) and by Goulet-Cazé 1989, 561–562.

The mss. are divided between ἐκινδύνευεν and ἐκινδύνευσεν. If the aorist is accepted here it can be interpreted as complexive, belonging to the type ἐβασίλευσε τριάκοντα ἔτη, although I doubt whether an aorist of this type can be accompanied by a present participle. This implies that the point of view from which Musonius' imprisonment is described

159 Rudolf Stefec, in the new OCT of *VS*, prints Τυρρηνῷ, attributing the conjecture to Von Fritz. In fact, this conjecture is already recorded by Olearius, who attributes it to "viri quidam docti", referring to his note on *VA* 4.35, where unfortunately he does not mention the names of these "viri docti".

is situated after his release from prison. If we accept the imperfect it refers to the time when Apollonius arrived in Rome; this is expressly confirmed by the first words of the next chapter, ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει φιλοσοφίας οὔσης. At the end of this book there is a brief exchange of letters between Apollonius and Musonius when they were both in prison. Both readings can be defended so that it is difficult to make a choice on internal grounds. If we ask the question *utrum in alterum abiturum erat* I think it more likely that an authentic imperfect was turned into an aorist under the influence of the two surrounding aorists ἐδέθη and ἀπέθανε than the other way round. I therefore accept the imperfect.

4.36.3 (p. 136.23) εἰ δὲ ἀπόλοιο ἀναχθεὶς καὶ Νέρων σε ὠμὸν φάγοι μηδὲν ἰδόντα ὧν πράττει, ἐπὶ πολλῷ ἔσται σοι τὸ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ **ἔτι πλεῖον** ἢ τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐγένετο, ὁπότε παρὰ τὸν Κύκλωπα ἦλθεν.

ἔτι πλεῖον scripsi : ἐπὶ πλεῖον **A E FQ** : ἐπὶ πλείονι Laur.CS.155^{2pc}

Philolaus tries to scare Apollonius off from going to Rome because he will pay dearly for the encounter with Nero. In fact, Philolaus argues, he will be in a worse condition than Odysseus when he visited Polyphemus. The transmitted καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον is a lame introduction to this climax, being hardly more than a repetition of ἐπὶ πολλῷ. With ἔτι the climax is brought out more clearly. ἔτι is often used to strengthen a comparative: see LSJ s.v. ἔτι II.2. The phrase καὶ ἔτι πλεῖον/πλέον occurs frequently. The corruption of ἔτι to ἐπί is easily explained as the result of *Echoschreibung*; confusion of Π and Τ may also have played a role. ἐπὶ πλείονι, accepted by Kayser and subsequent editors, is a correction by a later hand in Laur.CS.155, aiming at making the phrase correspond to the preceding ἐπὶ πολλῷ. The phrase ἐπὶ πλεῖον is not found elsewhere in Philostratus.

4.36.3 (p. 136.26) ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος "οἶει γὰρ" ἔφη "τοῦτον ἧττον **ἐκτετυφλῶσθαι** τοῦ Κύκλωπος, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεται;"

ἐκτετυφλώσεσθαι Reiske$^{1/2}$ (et Jacobs^{6})

Reiske and Jacobs assume that Apollonius refers to future events and therefore they change the transmitted ἐκτετυφλῶσθαι into ἐκτετυφλώσεσθαι, with a passive meaning; the conjecture is accepted by Jones. Reiske argues that Apollonius will blind Nero just as Odysseus blinded the Cyclops. Let us first have a look at the clause εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεται. τοιαῦτα may refer either to Nero's actual behaviour, sketched by Philolaus, or to what Philolaus assumes Nero will do when he gets hold of Apollonius, namely "eating him raw". With the reading ἐκτετυφλώσεσθαι Apollonius means the latter but then the meaning must obviously be that Nero *attempts* to eat Apollonius raw. I see two arguments against this interpretation. In the first place, τοιαῦτα, "such things", is more apt when referring to Nero's present activities such as chariot races and gladiator fights than to the specific act of eating Apollonius raw. In the second place, the present tense ἐργάζεται perfectly suits Nero's present activities whereas it is difficult to assume that it refers

to his future behaviour. With ἐκτετυφλῶσθαι Apollonius means that Nero's present behaviour proves that he is mentally blind and that therefore Apollonius has nothing to fear from him, just as the physically blind Cyclops was unable to harm Odysseus.

4.36.3 (p. 137.1) καὶ ὁ Φιλόλαος "**πραττέτω**," εἶπεν "ὅ τι βούλεται, σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ τούτους σῶζε."

πραττέτω **A** : πραττέτω μὲν **E FQ**

Denniston 1954, 165–166 gives numerous instances of adversative δέ without preceding μέν, ending his discussion with the remark: "The missing μέν has sometimes been added by editors whose ideas on this subject are too unbending". To my mind the common ancestor of **E** and **FQ** is an early predecessor of such an editor. In our passage there is no opposition between πραττέτω on the one hand and σὺ δὲ ἀλλά on the other, but the opposition is between the two complete clauses. μέν would have been appropriate if it followed οὗτος (or some other pronoun) referring to Nero. See for instance Ruf. *Ren. Ves.* 3.14 Πολλοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ οὐρηθῆναι τὸν λίθον ἤρκεσε ταῦτα μόνα· σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οὐρητικῶν προπότιζε.

For δ' ἀλλά see Denniston 1954, 10. The collocation occurs in three other passages in *VA*: 1.21.3 (p. 22.22), 2.26.2 (p. 59.25) and 4.21.3 (p. 125.1).

4.38.1 (p. 137.23) δοκεῖ δή μοι πρῶτον μὲν εὔξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, δι' οὓς ταῦτα ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθεν ὑμῖν τε κἀκείνοις, ἔπειθ' ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, **ὧνπερ** χωρὶς **οὐδὲν ὅλως** ἐσμέν.

ὧνπερ scripsi : ὧν γὰρ **A E FQ** : ⟨θε⟩ῶν γὰρ Jacobs[1] ‖ οὐδὲν ὅλως Jacobs[6] : οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ **A E** : οὐδὲν ἄλλο **FQ** : οὐδὲν ἀνύσιμον (deleto ἐσμέν) Jacobs[1] : οὐδὲν ἁπλῶς Radermacher (et Jackson) : οὐδ' ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ Jones

There are two problems in this short clause, the general meaning of which is not problematic: "without the help of the gods we are nothing". The first concerns the collocation ὧν γάρ, the second the phrase οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐσμέν.

At the beginning of the clause the transmitted ὧν γάρ cannot possibly be correct. There are no instances of a relative clause with γάρ (unless, of course, cases in which the relative clause is followed by a main clause containing the antecedent on which the relative pronoun is dependent). Jacobs conjectured θεῶν for ὧν, which gives a readable text. However, the repetition of θεῶν after θεοῖς makes a somewhat cumbersome impression. I would rather keep the relative and seek the corruption in γάρ. If we change ὧν γάρ into ὥνπερ the sentence as a whole is more coherent: "Secondly, we should make them our guides, without whose help etcetera." The corruption of an authentic ὥνπερ into ὧν γάρ is easier to explain than the corruption from an original θεῶν γάρ. I have found one parallel for the collocation ὥνπερ χωρίς, namely Procop. *Bell.* 7.36.27 παῖδάς τε γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκας σφίσιν ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρῴᾳ ἔφασκον εἶναι, ὥνπερ χωρὶς βιοτεύειν οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶναι; ὧν χωρίς is found frequently. The addition of περ after the relative gives it more weight: "we should make them our guides, *precisely those* without whom we are absolutely nothing".

As to the phrase οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐσμέν: Kayser[1] in his note (p. 187) defends the transmitted reading by referring to S. *OC* 247–248 ἐν ὑμῖν ὡς θεῷ κείμεθα τλάμονες and E. *Alc.* 278 ἐν σοὶ δ' ἐσμὲν καὶ ζῆν καὶ μή. This results in: "for we have not any succour to rely upon apart from the gods" (Conybeare). I don't see how the simple ἐν ἄλλῳ could have such a specific meaning; we would then expect something like ἐν ἄλλῳ τινί. And if the phrase could stand, its meaning would rather be "for without the gods we will not be in someone else's power", in which "someone else" might well stand for Nero (if not Nero, who else?). But then it would be quite contrary to the general sense of the passage if Apollonius were to state that they can stay out of Nero's way *without* the help of the gods. Jones conjectures οὐδ' ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ, "even in a strange land". Indeed, the phrase ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ (sc. γῇ) is attested but the corruption is not easy to explain and the sense doesn't quite suit the context: what we need is an argument to make the gods our guides and the mere mention of the fact that the gods are with us in a strange land is not an argument but a reassurance. Jacobs suggests οὐδὲν ὅλως, "nothing at all"; Radermacher and Jackson suggest οὐδὲν ἁπλῶς, which has the same meaning. The change of ἁπλῶς into ἄλλως (and then into ἄλλω) can be explained palaeographically by misreading Π as Λ; the change of an authentic ὅλως into ἄλλως can be explained as resulting from (inner) dictation. In Philostratus there are two places where ἁπλῶς accompanies a negation (*VA* 8.5.4 [p. 261.6] and *Gymn.* 26 [p. 274.25 K. = p. 152.34 Jüthner]) and three cases of ὅλως (*VA* 1.39.1 [p. 38.8], 2.30.1 [p. 63.1] and 8.3 [p. 259.5]). Because in general οὐδὲν ὅλως is much more frequent than οὐδὲν ἁπλῶς and because I believe that errors are more often due to misdictating than to misreading I have opted for Jacobs' solution, although I confess that I am not fully confident about it; Jackson may well be right that something else is lurking behind the transmitted οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ.

4.38.2 (p. 137.26) πῶς ἂν οὖν παρέλθοι τις, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνοι ἡγοῖντο, καὶ ταῦτα τυραννίδος ἐν αὐτῇ καθεστηκυίας οὕτω χαλεπῆς, ὡς μὴ ἐξεῖναι **⟨φιλο⟩σόφοις** εἶναι;

⟨φιλο⟩σόφοις scripsi

For the confusion of φιλοσοφία and σοφία in the transmission of *VA* see notes on 1.2.1 (p. 2.15) and 1.7.2 [p. 7.13–14]. In the present passage I am convinced that ⟨φιλο⟩σόφοις is the authentic reading. Chapter 35 starts with the phrase Νέρων οὐ ξυνεχώρει φιλοσοφεῖν (p. 135.25) and ends with the statement that Musonius was put into prison because of his σοφία (p. 135.28), which I take to express that Musonius had indeed attained what every philosopher strives for, namely true wisdom. In chapter 36.1 we find the phrases Ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει φιλοσοφίας οὔσης (p. 136.3) and διαβεβλημένου τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν (p. 136.9). In chapters 36–38 there is repeated mention of philosophers (p. 136.7, 11, 20, 137.14). In 38.1 (p. 137.20) Apollonius states that those who do not run away are called φιλόσοφος by him, which appears to be a pregnant use of the word, "*real* philosopher"; in 38.3 then (p. 138.3) Apollonius again uses the word σοφός, as he did in ch. 35 (p. 135.28). Characterizing Nero's reign as so cruel ὡς μὴ ἐξεῖναι ⟨φιλο⟩σόφοις εἶναι

is in accordance with the phrases in chs. 35 and 36.1, quoted above, and with ch. 38.5 (p. 139.1) ἐξείργει (sc. Νέρων) φιλοσοφίαν. Nero is keen on chasing wise men (σοφοί) away from Rome; the safest way to do so is to forbid people to *strive for* wisdom (φιλοσοφία).

4.38.2 (p. 138.3) ἐγὼ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν οὕτως φοβερὸν ἡγοῦμαι γενέσθαι τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἐκπλαγῆναί ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν σοφόν, εἶτ' οὐδ' ἂν **προσθείην** ἀνδρικὰς μελέτας, ἐὰν μὴ μετὰ κινδύνων γίγνοιντο.

προσθείην **A E F** : προσθείη **Q** : προθείην Kayser[2]

The older editions have προσθείη, in the third person singular. Reiske[2] suggests that θεός has fallen out. Between brackets he adds "aut προθείη nam perinde est utro modo legatur"; that is, according to Reiske προσθείη and προθείη are equally possible, meaning *iniungat* or *proponat* respectively. Kayser restored the first person προσθείην in his 1844 edition; in the 1870 edition he prints προθείην. Schenkl 1893, 119 lists προθείην under the conjectures first made by Reiske and then by Kayser. And thus Jones, who had to rely on Schenkl for his information on Reiske, attributes the conjecture προθείην to Reiske. It is clear that this attribution is wrong in two respects: in the first place Reiske suggested προθείη and not προθείην; in the second place Reiske did not intend to replace προσθείη by προθείη, he only stated that both readings are equally possible. This brief history of the passage shows how easily wrong attributions can originate in the course of the centuries.

As to the reading προσθείην itself I agree with Reiske that it is perfectly possible so that there is no need to follow Kayser in printing προθείην. For the sense "impose upon" see LSJ s.v. προστίθημι II.1, where they refer to E. *Heracl.* 505 αὐτοὶ δὲ προστιθέντες ἄλλοισιν πόνους.

4.39.1 (p. 139.17–18) ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κιθάρα καὶ ἡ πρόσφορος τῷ κιθαρίζειν σκευὴ πᾶσα, καί τινα καὶ νευρὰν **τῶν ἐφαψαμένων τε καὶ προεντεταμένων** ἐν κυτίδι εἶχεν κτέ.

τῶν ἐφαψαμένων τε καὶ προεντεταμένων iure suspectum habet Reiske[1/2] : non vertit Jacobs[6], fortasse spuria iudicans

About τῶν ἐφαψαμένων τε καὶ προεντεταμένων Reiske[2] remarks: "haec verba non intelligo. id profecto non significant, neque possunt, quod latina versio iis attribuit." Reiske refers to Olearius' translation, "tactu iam attritam, atque in cithara iam olim distentam". Indeed, it is difficult to see what the words can mean. It is certain that ἐφαψαμένων cannot have a passive meaning because aorist middle forms never have passive meanings (with the exception of ἐσχόμην; see KG 1.117). Therefore all translations with the same meaning as Olearius' are to be rejected, such as Jones' "a lyre string that was already strung" (in which in effect τῶν ἐφαψαμένων τε goes untranslated) and Mooij's "een snaar die al eerder bevestigd en gespannen was geweest". Conybeare realized that ἐφαψαμένων cannot have a passive meaning, witness his translation, "a second-hand string which others had fastened on their instruments and tuned up before him". He appears to take the

genitive as either a possessive or as an absolute genitive. In whatever way we interpret the words, the genitive in itself is clumsy, and the same goes for the plural because it is explicitly stated that Nero was the former owner of the string. Jacobs leaves the whole phrase untranslated and it may well be that he regarded the words as spurious, although he doesn't add this as a note. I would be happy to delete the phrase but I don't see how on earth it could have crept into the text. And I cannot think of a plausible conjecture either.[160]

4.40.2 (p. 140.16) ταῦτα ἀκούοντα τὸν Τελεσῖνον (καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν **ὑποθεραπεύων** τὸ θεῖον) εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ δι' ἃ πάλαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουε κτέ.

ὑποθεραπεύων **A E FQ** : ὑπερθεραπεύων **A**^{1sl}

Telesinus is depicted in a very favourable manner in *VA* and therefore we expect to find only positive remarks about him. For ὑποθεραπεύω LSJ give the meaning "*to be disposed to worship*". Normally, one of the meanings of the preverb ὑπο- is "denoting what is in small degree or gradual, *somewhat, a little*" (LSJ s.v. ὑπό F.II). Thus ὑποθεραπεύων, which is found in all the editions, would seem to mean that he was moderately worshipping the gods. In the only other occurrence of ὑποθεραπεύω before the Byzantine period it means "to bribe": Memnon fr. 24 (...) ὃς τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ χρυσοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας ἰδίᾳ διακοσίοις ὑποθεραπεύσας, τῆς χώρας ἀπαναστῆναι παρεσκεύασεν, where the preverb ὑπο- means "underhand, secretly" (LSJ s.v. ὑπό F.III). On the other hand, in the scholium on E. *Tr.* 209 (ἔλθοιμεν Θησέως εὐδαίμονα χώραν: ταῦτα ὑποθεραπεύουσα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγει) ὑποθεραπεύουσα can only be understood in a positive sense.

The reading added above the line in **A**, ὑπερθεραπεύων, means that Telesinus worshipped the gods with great zeal. According to LSJ s.v. ὑπέρ F.3 the preverb ὑπερ can mean "above measure", and indeed this is the appropriate meaning for ὑπερθεραπεύουσα at Hld. 1.9.2. But I don't think that the preverb ὑπερ always has negative overtones: see for instance Hdt. 3.3.1 ὡς εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστεῶτα τέκνα εὐειδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἐχρᾶτο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθωμάζουσα; X. *Hell.* 4.1.10 ἐγὼ μέντοι, καίπερ ὑπερχαίρων, ὅταν ἐχθρὸν τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλόν μοι δοκῶ ἥδεσθαι, ὅταν τι τοῖς φίλοις ἀγαθὸν ἐξευρίσκω; in *VA* 2.26.1 (p. 59.11) we find ὑπερχαίρω in an undoubtedly positive sense and the same goes for ὑπερησθείς *VA* 6.3.5 (p. 182.10) and ὑπερφιλοσοφοῦντα in 7.37 (p. 252.26). And how could it be possible to worship the gods too much anyway? Here "worshipping the gods to a very high degree" would seem to be a fitting compliment to Telesinus.

160 Donald Mastronarde has written to me the following with regard to my discussion of this passage: "It seems to me that τῶν προεντεταμένων by itself would make sense as a fancy way to describe a used string, no longer suitable for use because not as elastic as before. As your discussion shows, it is the first participle that is nonsense. I can imagine νεύραν ⟨ὑπὸ⟩ τῶν ἐφαψαμένων {τε καὶ} προεντεταμένην, if only ἐφάπτομαι could refer to plucking strings."

However, it is worthwhile having a look at the verb ὑποθειάζω, "*to be divinely inspired*" (LSJ s.v.), which occurs twice in *VA* (1.3.2 [p. 4.17] and 6.11.12 [p. 193.11]); it is not found elsewhere in extant Greek literature. At 1.3.2 **A** has ὑπερ above the line but this is not the case at 6.11.12. This makes one suspect that the scribe of **A** added ὑπερ conjecturally in two cases and omitted to do so at 6.11.12. Moreover, it would seem to be too much of a coincidence that an authentic ὑπερ- was corrupted to ὑπο- in three passages. And thus I have accepted ὑποθεραπεύων.[161]

4.40.3 (p. 141.6) "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν "ἐμὴ γὰρ" ἔφη "αὕτη **ἀρχή**."

ἀρχή **E FQ** : ἡ ἀρχή **A** (ci. Platt)

Forms of οὗτος are always accompanied by the article in Philostratus except when οὗτος comes after the noun it belongs to; see Schmid 4.65. But this applies only to cases in which οὗτος + noun form one constituent, in this case αὕτη ἡ ἀρχή, "this power". I believe that the sentence should be analyzed in a different way: αὕτη (subject) ⟨ἐστιν⟩ (verbal part of the predicate) ἐμὴ ἀρχή (nominal part of the predicate). In this analysis ἐμὴ ἀρχή, being the nominal part of the predicate, lacks the article. The Focus position of ἐμή as the first word of the sentence leads to the separation of ἐμή and ἀρχή. The feminine gender of αὕτη results from gender attraction of the subject (τοῦτο) from the feminine nominal predicate. — Moreover, the absence of the article definitely is *lectio difficilior*.

4.40.3 (p. 141.9) ἐγὼ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὴ βεβαίως κλειστὰ χαίρω οἰκῶν καὶ παραιτεῖταί με οὐδεὶς τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ ποιοῦνται κοινωνὸν στέγης· ἀνείσθω δή μοι **κἀνταῦθα**· καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ξυνεχώρουν αὐτό.

κἀνταῦθα Jacobs[6] : καὶ τοῦτο **A E FQ** : {καὶ} τοῦτο Kayser[2]

Telesinus offers Apollonius hospitality in the heavily guarded temples of Rome. Apollonius is grateful for the offer but explains that he would rather stay in temples that are not completely closed. The transmitted ἀνείσθω δή μοι καὶ τοῦτο means "Please grant me this too", in which "this" must stand for sleeping in open temples. But then there is no place for καί: this could only mean that Apollonius wishes to sleep both in closed and open temples which is in contradiction with his request. Kayser[2] realised this and accordingly deleted καί. But the remaining ἀνείσθω δή μοι τοῦτο is very tame. Jacobs' conjecture κἀνταῦθα for καὶ τοῦτο removes this tameness: "Please grant me this here [i.e. in Rome] too", a request which is corroborated by the argument that the barbarians too granted him this. The corruption was probably caused by (inner) dictation and mental association. Another *emendatio palmaris* by Jacobs.

161 In Boter 2019, 53 I discussed this passage under the heading "Uncertain readings", hesitantly deciding in favour of ὑπερθεραπεύων. I have changed my mind since then.

4.42.2 (p. 142.8–10) Τιγιλλῖνος γάρ, ὑφ' ᾧ τὸ ξίφος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος, ἀπήλαυνεν αὐτὸν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς τὸ βαλανεῖον κατασκάψαντα οἷς εἶπεν, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον ἀφανῶς ἀνίχνευεν, **εἴ ποτε** καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλήψιμόν τι καὶ παραβεβλημένον εἴποι.

τιγιλλῖνος **A E FQ** : τιγελλῖνος Lugd.73D Laur.CS.155 ‖ εἴ ποτε Reiske$^{1/2}$: ὁπότε **A E FQ**

The name of Tigellinus occurs nine times in *VA*. In the seven passages in book 4 all primary mss. have τιγιλλ-. In 5.35.5 (p. 171.19) **A E** and **Q**^{1sl} have τιγιλλ-, **FQ** have τιγελλ-. In 7.4.1 (p. 224.6) only **Q** has τιγιλλ-, the others τιγελλ-. According to the TLG, the form τιγελλ- occurs in 41 places (apart from *VA*); τιγιλλ- on the other hand only occurs once in the epitome of Cassius Dio and four times in the writings of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (ninth century AD). Neither form is attested in papyri or inscriptions. So what to do? The spelling τιγιλλ- is due either to Philostratus himself or to a scribe. I think it more probable that Philostratus had a deviating form of the name in mind than that a scribe changed a transmitted τιγελλ- into τιγιλλ- in all passages. Therefore I have written the name in the form τιγιλλ- on all occurrences. The form τιγελλ- occurs in Lugd.73D Laur.CS.155, the latter of which is the indirect source of the Aldine edition; Kayser prints τιγελλ- everywhere.

The required sense of the end of the clause is: "he began to dog the steps of Apollonius secretly, in the hope that he would catch him out too in some compromising utterance" (Conybeare); most other translations have something similar.[162] But ὁπότε cannot have this meaning.[163] Reiske saw this and accordingly conjectured εἴ ποτε. A parallel for ἀνίχνευεν, εἴ ποτε is furnished by Procop. *Aed.* 2.1.18 ἐν γειτόνων ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων καὶ καιροφυλακούντων τε καὶ διηνεκὲς ἰχνευόντων εἴ ποτε τοῦ περιβόλου μοίρας ἀτειχίστου τινὸς ἐπιτυχεῖν οἷοί τε ὦσιν.

4.44.2 (p. 143.22–23) ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος πατρός τε ἐμέμνητο καὶ πατρίδος, καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι τῇ σοφίᾳ χρῷτο, ἔφασκέ τε αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι ἐπί τε τῷ θεοὺς γινώσκειν ἐπί τε τῷ **ἀνδρῶν** ξυνιέναι· **τὸ** γὰρ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι **χαλεπώτερον** εἶναι **τοῦ** ἄλλον γνῶναι.

ἀνδρῶν **A E FQ** : ἑαυτοῦ Hamaker (legens τῷ τῶν cum **F**^{2sl}**Q**) : ἀνθρώπων Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Jacobs^{6} ‖ τὸ **A E FQ** : τοῦ Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} ‖ 2 χαλεπώτερον **A**^{1sl} : χαλεπώτατον **A E FQ** ‖ τοῦ **A E FQ** : τὸ Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}

162 Phillimore gives the following translation: "... and secretly began to keep his eye on Apollonius, against the time when he should say anything unguardedly that could be taken hold of." Compare the following note.

163 Donald Mastronarde has written to me the following with regard to my discussion of this passage: "I wouldn't argue that ὁπότε is right, but I think the transmitted text could have the meaning "investigating (in order to detect) when he would say something ..." This is what Phillimore is expressing with the unusual but idiomatic (perhaps obsolescent) use of "against" — virtually = "looking to catch the moment when". Somewhat comparable is the use of ὁπότε in Ar. *Ra.* 918–919 ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας, ἵν' ὁ θεατὴς προσδοκῶν καθῆτο, / ὁπόθ' ἡ Νιόβη τι φθέγξεται."

When Tigellinus asks Apollonius what use he makes of his wisdom Apollonius answers that it helps him to know the gods and to understand men; in the transmitted text he adds: "for it is more difficult to know oneself than to know others". The train of thought is hard to follow here. Kayser reverses the articles τό and τοῦ, which results in "for it is more difficult to know others than to know oneself". Apart from the observation that the construction of the sentence is awkward, with the comparative genitive (which is pragmatically the Focus of the sentence) in Topic position, the thought as such conflicts with one of the basic tenets of Greek thought; in 3.18 (p. 85.10–11) Apollonius appears to commit himself to the general Greek belief: ἤρετο οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἴσασιν, οἰόμενος αὐτόν, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες, χαλεπὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι.

Hamaker 1816, 93 proposes reading ἑαυτοῦ for ἀνδρῶν, explaining the corruption by assuming that a scribe introduced ἀνδρῶν as a counterpart to θεῶν. But with this reading the introduction of ἄλλον comes as a surprise, and in fact the reader does expect to find both gods and men mentioned. In the transmitted text Apollonius uses his wisdom in order to understand others, which includes both gods and men. The γάρ-sentence, then, is a declaration of modesty, implying that Apollonius deems it virtually impossible to know oneself.[164] — I fail to see what induced Kayser and Westermann to print ἀνθρώπων instead of ἀνδρῶν: ἀνήρ is an adequate opposite of θεός (see LSJ s.v. ἀνήρ II).

Another problem in this passage is the form of χαλεπός. The comparative χαλεπώτερον, which we expect to find here, is only found in **A**[1sl] and it may well be a conjecture. In *VA* there are a few passages where we find the comparative instead of the superlative; see for instance 3.19.1 (p. 86.6) θαυμασιώτερον (where Richards conjectures θαυμασιώτατον [see the note on that passage]). There are two passages in *VA* where the reverse situation seems to occur: 6.11.2 (p. 190.2–3) οὔτε γὰρ ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς βίου ποιησόμενος ἥκω (...), πρεσβύτατός τε ὑμῶν πλὴν Θεσπεσίωνος, and 7.11.2 (p. 228.6–7) σὺ δ', ὅσῳπερ ἡμῶν σοφώτατος, τοσούτῳ σοφωτέρα κατηγορία ἐπὶ σὲ εὕρηται. In 6.11.2 Richards conjectures πρεσβύτερος, in 7.11.2 Reiske conjectures σοφώτερος. In these two passages, however, the genitive accompanying the superlative might be taken as partitive which is impossible in our passage. Therefore the comparative χαλεπώτερον is needed.

164 This conclusion may seem to conflict with what is stated in 3.18, where Apollonius agrees with Iarchas' remark that one should start with learning to know oneself (p. 85.14–16 ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀναμνησθεὶς ὧν τοῦ Φραώτου ἤκουσε καὶ ὅπως ὁ φιλοσοφήσειν μέλλων ἑαυτὸν βασανίσας ἐπιχειρεῖ τούτῳ, ξυνεχώρησε τῷ λόγῳ). Apollonius' agreement is explained by the reference to what he had heard from Phraotes, about the prerequisites for those who wish to engage in philosophy. I take it that Apollonius' agreement with Iarchas in 3.18 concerns the way the Indians deal with this matter, while Apollonius himself adheres to the universal Greek belief that knowing oneself is the most difficult thing in the world, as is presumably implied in the passage in 4.44.2. It is also possible that we have to do with an incongruity in Philostratus, either deliberate or unconscious.

4.44.3 (p. 143.23) "τοὺς **⟨δὲ⟩** δαίμονας," εἶπεν "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὰς τῶν εἰδώλων φαντασίας πῶς ἐλέγχεις;"

⟨δὲ⟩ supplevit Jackson

Although we find all types of asyndeton in Philostratus the addition of δέ appears to be inescapable here. In a series of questions in direct speech we usually find a connective particle such as εἶτα or (more often) δέ. Here the first questions by Tigellinus are presented in indirect speech and this question is the first one in direct speech. An exact parallel is found in 1.4 (p. 5.7–8) ἡ δὲ οὐδὲν δείσασα ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκυήσοι· ὁ δὲ "ἐμέ" εἶπεν. "σὺ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης "Πρωτεὺς" ἔφη "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος θεός". Moreover, δέ is necessary to mark the Topic switch. The omission of δέ can be explained as haplography caused by (inner) dictation, δε and δαι being homophonous.

4.45.1 (p. 144.22) (...) ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ προσαψάμενος αὐτῆς **καί τι** ἀφανῶς ἐπειπὼν ἀφύπνισε τὴν κόρην τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου κτέ.

καί τι **A** : καί τι καὶ **E FQ**

There are eleven cases of καί τι or καί τι καί in *VA*. In six of these all mss. have καί τι καί; in one place (6.6.1 [p. 185.7]) all mss. have καί τι. In 3.1.1 (p. 73.7) **A E** have καί τι while **F** and Photius have καί τι καί; in three other places **A** has καί τι against καί τι καί of **E F**(**Q**): the present passage, 6.1.1 (p. 179.2) and 7.10.2 (p. 227.8). In 3.1.1 **A E** in all probability represent the archetype. In 6.1.1 καί τι καί is superior, emphasizing that part of Libya also belongs to Ethiopia. The present passage closely resembles 7.10.2 (p. 227.8–9) περιβαλὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Δημήτριος καί τι (**A**: καί τι καί **E FQ**) ἐπευφημήσας "ὦ θεοί," εἶπε κτέ. Because the collocation καί τι καί is so frequent I think it more probable that in both passages καί was added in **E FQ** than that it was omitted accidentally in **A**. But this is one of those cases in which we might also settle the matter by tossing a coin.

4.47 (p. 145.24) (...) τρέπεται ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια τῆς γῆς, ἃ φασιν ὁρίζεσθαι ταῖς **Στήλαις** κτέ.

στήλαις **E FQ** : πύλαις **A**

The Strait of Gibraltar is usually designated as the Pillars (στῆλαι) of Hercules but in Pi. fr. 256 Snell-Maehler we find Πύλας Γαδειρίδας. Elsewhere too the word πύλαι is used for narrow straits; see LSJ s.v. πύλη II.3. In the first line of book 5 and in ch. 3 of the same book Philostratus uses στῆλαι; πύλαι is never found for the Strait of Gibraltar in Philostratus. Therefore there can hardly be any doubt that here too στήλαις must be accepted but it remains a riddle how **A** came to write πύλαις.

BOOK FIVE

5.2 (p. 148.1) ἃ δὲ περὶ τὴν σελήνην φασὶ φαίνεσθαι τικτομένην τε καὶ πληρουμένην καὶ φθίνουσαν, ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν οἶδα· τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνης **ἀνισοῖ** μέτρα ξυμμινύθων αὐτῇ καὶ ξυμπληρούμενος.

ἀνισοῖ Reiske$^{1/2}$ (et Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}) vel ἀνύει Reiske^{1} vel ἀνύτει Reiske^{2} : ἄνεισι **A E FQ** Phot.

The meaning of the sentence is perfectly clear: the tide of the Ocean accords with the moon's phases. Reiske and Kayser, however, are right in concluding that the transmitted ἄνεισι cannot express this meaning. The verb means "to go up, to rise". It can have an object such as πόντον but it can hardly have τὰ μέτρα as its direct object. Either we should take τὰ μέτρα as an internal accusative, "according to the tides", or we should read ⟨κα⟩τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἄνεισι μέτρα or even ⟨κα⟩τὰ γὰρ ⟨τὰ⟩ ἐκείνης ἄνεισι μέτρα. But even then the wording is strange because ἄνεισι only refers to the rising of the sea: "the Ocean rises in accordance with the moon's phases, decreasing and increasing with her".

ἀνισοῖ is a very ingenious conjecture, being homophonous with ἄνεισι which explains the corruption. I have not found exact parallels for the sense required here, "to keep pace with", but the use of the verb may well be supposed to be flexible, just like its cognate ἐξισόω, which besides its usual transitive use can also have an intransitive meaning; see LSJ s.v. ἐξισόω II.

5.4 (p. 148.9) Τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα κεῖται μὲν κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα, περιττοὶ δέ εἰσι τὰ θεῖα. Γήρως **⟨γ⟩οῦν** βωμὸν ἵδρυνται καὶ τὸν Θάνατον μόνοι ἀνθρώπων παιωνίζονται.

⟨γ⟩οῦν Phillimore (et Jackson) : οὖν **A E FQ** Phot.**A** : καὶ Phot.**M**

Phillimore's conjecture (also made by Jackson) is confirmed by the parallel phrase ἀσπάζεσθαι γοῦν Ἀθηναίους further on in this chapter. γοῦν should be taken as an equivalent of γάρ: see Radt 2015a. For confusion of γοῦν and οὖν see Radt's note on Strabo 825.17.

5.4 (p. 148.10–11) βωμοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ Πενίας καὶ **Τέχνης** καὶ Ἡρακλέους Αἰγυπτίου καὶ **ἕτερος** τοῦ Θηβαίου.

Τέχνης] τύχης Van Wulfften Palthe ‖ ἕτερος scripsi : ἕτεροι **A E FQ**

Palthe's conjecture τύχης for the transmitted τέχνης[165] is attractive because there are some parallels for altars devoted to Τύχη, namely *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 11.1, Plu. 323a3, and

165 This conjecture is proposed as the first of the theses belonging to Palthe's dissertation (p. 71).

Paus. 5.15.6, although there τύχη is accompanied by σωτήριος, εὐελπίς and ἀγαθή respectively. In our passage the transmitted τέχνης is supported by Ael. fr. 19 (= Eustath. *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* 453) Αἰλιανὸς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Προνοίας φησὶν ὅτι ἐν Γαδείροις βωμὸς Ἐνιαυτῷ ἵδρυται (...). καὶ βωμὸς δέ φησι παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ Πενίας καὶ Τέχνης, τῆς μὲν ἐξιλεουμένοις, τῆς δὲ παραλαμβάνουσιν ἐς ἄκος ἐκείνης.

In the enumeration of the altars it is natural to assume that each deity had one altar of his/her own. Therefore I assume that the plural ἕτεροι is a corruption of an original ἕτερος, resulting from *Echoschreibung* of the plural βωμοί at the beginning of the sentence.

5.5.1 (p. 149.3–4) ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ἄμφω τὼ Ἡρακλέε φασίν, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖν οὐκ εἶναι, βωμοὺς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Αἰγυπτίου δύο χαλκοῦς καὶ ἀσήμους, ἕνα δὲ τοῦ **Θηβαίου**, τὰς δὲ ὕδρας τε καὶ τὰς Διομήδους ἵππους καὶ τὰ δώδεκα Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ἐκτετυπῶσθαί φασι, **καὶ ταῦτα** λίθου ὄντα.

⟨λίθου⟩ Θηβαίου Jacobs[3] : Θηβαίου ⟨λίθου⟩ Jacobs[6] ‖ καὶ ταῦτα **A E FQ** : κἀνταῦθα Kayser[1C] Kayser[2T] : om. Phot.

The sense of the passage is not disputed: the two altars dedicated to the Egyptian Heracles are made of bronze, the one dedicated to the Theban Heracles is made of stone. The phrasing, however, is difficult. Jacobs suggested that λίθου should be added to Θηβαίου, in contrast to χαλκοῦ, the material of the two altars of the Egyptian Heracles. He takes the final words of the sentence, καὶ ταῦτα λίθου ὄντα, as "auch diese von Stein". But this suggests that the altar and the sculpture of the twelve works are two separate monuments while it is most natural to regard the twelve works as decoration of the altar. Kayser[1] prints τὰς δὲ ὕδρας ... καὶ ταῦτα between dashes and in the note ad loc. (p. 188) he explains the construction as follows: "Nobis videtur λίθου ὄντα referendum esse ad ἕνα et καὶ ταῦτα sic explicandum: vel haec multa in uno lapide sunt expressa." To me, it seems unnatural to take λίθου ὄντα with ἕνα because of the long intervening sentence. Further, I don't see how καὶ ταῦτα can stand for "haec multa". In the 1870 edition Kayser prints κἀνταῦθα instead of καὶ ταῦτα; he had already proposed this reading in the corrections to the 1844 edition (p. 79 at the end of the work). But κἀνταῦθα would mean that the twelve works were depicted "here too", which is a quite superfluous remark.

I think that the transmitted text can be kept if we take καὶ ταῦτα λίθου ὄντα as an apposition or as an afterthought to the description both of the altar itself and of the depiction of the twelve works. Accordingly, there should be no heavy punctuation after ἕνα δὲ τοῦ Θηβαίου. The particle καί, then, is connective and not focal. Admittedly, the syntax is loose but we are dealing with Philostratus and not with Isocrates.

5.6 (p. 149.18) Φασὶ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναπλῶσαι τὸν Βαῖτιν κτέ.

φασὶ καὶ **A E FQ** : φασὶ δὲ καὶ Laur.69.26

In the large majority of cases the introduction of a new subject by means of φασί is

accompanied by the particle δέ (or some equivalent). As Schmid 4.521–522 points out, asyndeton is frequent when a new sentence starts with a verb; see for instance 3.56 (p. 108.3) Προσπλεῦσαί φασι καὶ Βαλάροις κτέ (no variant readings) and 5.5.1 (p. 148.18) Ἰδεῖν καὶ δένδρα φασὶν ἐνταῦθα κτέ. On the other hand, there are no other instances of φασὶ καί in Philostratus, while there are five cases of φασὶ δὲ καί, e.g. 1.25.3 (p. 28.4) φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνι ἐντυχεῖν. Even so, I have accepted the text of the primary mss., because I think we should not impose strict regularity on Philostratus in such matters.

5.7.1 (p. 150.2) καθημένων ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναγελάσας ὁ Μένιππος (ἀνεμέμνητο δὲ ἄρα τοῦ Νέρωνος) "τί" ἔφη "τὸν γενναῖον **ἡγούμεθα**; τίνας" **ἔφη** "**ἐστεφανώσ⟨εσ⟩θαι** τῶν ἀγώνων;"

ἡγούμεθα **A E FQ** : ἡγώμεθα Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} ‖ ἔφη post τίνας del. Olearius ‖ ἐστεφανώσ⟨εσ⟩θαι scripsi : ἐστεφανῶσθαι **A E FQ**

In questions of this type, where we would expect the deliberative subjunctive or the future indicative, the present indicative can be used as well; see KG 1.203. For τί λέγομεν see e.g. Pl. *Euthphr.* 10d1 Τί δὴ οὖν λέγομεν περὶ τοῦ ὁσίου, ὦ Εὐθύφρων; *Lg.* 886e6 Τί οὖν δή; τί λέγομεν; τί χρὴ δρᾶν ἡμᾶς; For τί ἡγούμεθα see Pl. *Lg.* 658b4–5 τί ποτ' ἂν ἡγούμεθα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προρρήσεως συμβαίνειν; Therefore Kayser's conjecture is unnecessary.

Olearius deletes the second ἔφη which has Menippus as its subject but there are other instances of apparently redundant ἔφη, such as 5.25.1 (p. 163.1) "πᾶς" ἔφη "σοφός, ἢν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν ἥκῃ. καὶ βοῦν" ἔφη "ἀπανθρακιῶ τήμερον κτέ."

With the transmitted ἐστεφανῶσθαι the text means: "Which of the games do you suppose he has won crowns in?" (Jones). But from Apollonius' answer it becomes clear that the games still have to take place; thus he says for instance ἐγὼ δὲ νικήσειν μὲν Νέρωνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φημί. Therefore the perfect infinitive ἐστεφανῶσθαι must be replaced by the future perfect infinitive ἐστεφανώσεσθαι. This infinitive might express an element of surprise: "which crowns shall we see placed on his head?" For the middle infinitive of the future perfect with passive meaning there are parallels in *VA* 4.24.3 (p. 127.6) τετμήσεσθαι and *Her.* 53.20 (p. 70.1 De Lannoy) προσβεβλήσεσθαι. Schmid 4.75–76 lists the passages where Philostratus uses the future perfect, stating that these forms are fully equivalent to the simple future, in support of which he quotes *VA* 5.34.3 (p. 170.7–9) καὶ πανταχοῦ μὲν γεγράψῃ τῆς πόλεως, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἑστήξεις χαλκοῦς, ἡμῖν δ' ἀφορμὰς παραδώσεις λόγων, αἷς οὔτε Ἁρμόδιος οὔτε Ἀριστογείτων παραβεβλήσεταί τις. The present passage can be added to this list.

5.7.2 (p. 150.10) ἐγὼ δὲ νικήσειν μὲν Νέρωνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φημί (τίς γὰρ οὕτω θρασύς, ὡς ἐναντίαν θέσθαι;), Ὀλύμπια δὲ οὐ νικήσειν, **ἅ γε** μηδὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἄγουσι.

ἅ γε Morel in margine (et Reiske^{2} Westermann) : ἅτε **A E FQ**

The only way to save the transmitted ἅτε is to take ἄγουσι as an absolute dative. Schmid

4.58 mentions three passages in Philostratus where he believes the absolute dative occurs: *VA* 3.32.2 (p. 97.1), *Im.* 2.19 (p. 372.2 Kayser = p. 104.4 Benndorf-Schenkl) and 2.21 (p. 374.3 Kayser = p. 107.4 Benndorf-Schenkl), adding that in the two latter cases the dative might also be interpreted as *dativus commodi*. To my mind the same goes for the passage in *VA*. It should also be noted that in our passage the supposed participle goes unaccompanied by a pronoun or a noun. This is not uncommon with the absolute genitive (see for instance *VA* 1.4 [p. 5.8] "σὺ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης [sc. τῆς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μητρός] "Πρωτεὺς" ἔφη "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος θεός.") but it makes one hesitate to interpret ἄγουσι as an absolute dative here. Therefore I have accepted γε, proposed by Morel, Reiske and Westermann (independently, it seems). For γε after the relative pronoun see Denniston 1954, 141–142, who regards the combination as equivalent to Latin *ut qui, quippe qui*. For Philostratus a number of parallels are furnished by Schmid 4.70, e.g. *Im.* 2.21 (p. 324.19–22 Kayser = p. 41.24–42.3 Benndorf-Schenkl) καὶ γὰρ (...) οὔτε διαμετροῦμέν σοι τὴν ἡμέραν, οἵ γε βουλοίμεθα ἂν καὶ ἐς νύκτα σε ἀποτεῖναι τὸ αὔλημα.

5.7.2 (p. 150.15) τραγῳδίαν δ' ἐπαγγείλαι καὶ κιθαρῳδίαν ἀνδράσιν, οἷς μήτε θέατρον ἔστι μήτε σκηνὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, στάδιον δὲ αὐτοφυὲς καὶ γυμνὰ πάντα, **τὸν** δὲ νικᾶν, ἃ χρὴ ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι κτέ.

τὸ{ν} Jacobs[1/6]

At first sight τὸν δέ might seem to indicate a Topic Switch where there is none: Nero is the subject of ἐπαγγείλαι, νικᾶν and μεταμφιέννυσθαι. But there are other passages where we find ὁ δέ and where there is no Topic Switch, such as 6.2.1 (p. 180.10–11) μελαίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἧττον Αἰθιόπων, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰγυπτίων where οἱ μέν refers to the same people as οἱ δέ. Therefore I have not accepted Jacobs' conjecture.

5.7.2 (p. 150.22–24) τί οὖν; εἴ τις αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον ἢ τὸν Κρεσφόντην ἀπελθὼν τοῦ θεάτρου μεστὸς οὕτω τοῦ προσωπείου γένοιτο, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν ἑτέρων βούλεσθαι, τύραννον δὲ αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, τί καὶ φήσεις τοῦτον;

Most editions have a question mark after τί οὖν, a comma after ἡγεῖσθαι and a question mark after τοῦτον. Westermann replaces the question mark after τί οὖν by a comma. Jackson proposes removing the comma after τί οὖν and placing question marks both after ἡγεῖσθαι and after τοῦτον. Jones prints no punctuation mark after τί οὖν, a comma after ἡγεῖσθαι and a question mark after τοῦτον, wrongly attributing this punctuation to Jackson; according to Jones τί in τί καὶ φήσεις is resumptive.

Although I am well aware that τί οὖν cannot simply be treated as a mere doublet of τί δέ[166] I think it illuminating to have a look at this phrase, especially because Rijksbaron 2007, 243–257, devotes a long appendix to the punctuation of τί δέ in Plato. Rijksbaron

166 At [Pl.] *Thg.* 126a9–b8 both τί οὖν and τί δέ are used in quite similar sentences in which a new conversation topic is introduced: ΣΩ. Ἆρά γε λέγεις ὥσπερ Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ Περικλῆς καὶ Κίμων

approaches the question from a pragmatic point of view. According to him, we should print a question mark after τί δέ when there is no Topic Switch, such as at *Ion* 540d4 Τί δέ; ἡ ῥαψῳδικὴ τέχνη στρατηγική ἐστιν;, because ἡ ῥαψῳδικὴ τέχνη had been "the Topic of the discussion from 539e1–3 onwards" (p. 251). When there is a Topic Switch, so Rijksbaron argues, the question mark should be placed after the newly introduced Topic, such as at *Ion* 531d4–5 Τί δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταί; οὐ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων;, because "after questions about Homer Socrates now turns to the other poets" (p. 250). Strict application of this rule, however, can lead to forced and to my mind untenable punctuation; I will give two instances, taken from Rijksbaron. At *Euthphr.* 8b10 Burnet prints Τί δέ; ἀνθρώπων, ὦ Εὐθύφρων, ἤδη τινὸς ἀκήκοας ἀμφισβητοῦντος ὡς κτέ (the new OCT has the same text). According to Rijksbaron 2007, 249 we should read Τί δὲ ἀνθρώπων, ὦ Εὐθύφρων; ἤδη τινὸς ἀκήκοας ἀμφισβητοῦντος ὡς κτέ, because "here Socrates shifts from the gods (...) to human beings". But although the phrase τί δὲ ἀνθρώπων ("how about human beings?") in itself is possible (see KG 1.363 Anmerk. 11) I think it more natural to make the genitive ἀνθρώπων depend on τινός, ἀνθρώπων τινός picking up τῶν θεῶν οὐδένα in b7–8. — At *Phd.* 71a6–7 Burnet prints Τί δέ; ἄν τι χεῖρον γίγνηται, οὐκ ἐξ ἀμείνονος, καὶ ἂν δικαιότερον, ἐξ ἀδικωτέρου; (again, the new OCT concurs with Burnet). Rijksbaron 2007, 249 rejects this punctuation because "after 70e10 Οὐκοῦν κἂν ἔλαττον γίγνηται, ἐκ μείζονος ὄντος πρότερον ὕστερον ἔλαττον γενήσεται;, Socrates now shifts to a new, contrasting, Topic, which is, like ἔλαττον, an adjective". Therefore Rijksbaron proposes reading Τί δὲ ἄν τι χεῖρον γίγνηται; οὐκ ἐξ ἀμείνονος, καὶ ἂν δικαιότερον, ἐξ ἀδικωτέρου; This results in an unnatural break between the protasis ἄν τι χεῖρον γίγνηται and the apodosis οὐκ ἐξ ἀμείνονος (sc. γίγνεται), a break which is all the more unnatural because the whole phrase runs parallel to the immediately following καὶ ἂν δικαιότερον, ἐξ ἀδικωτέρου and to the preceding instances as well.

I would rather approach the question from a syntactic point of view, confining myself to the collocation τί οὖν εἰ. If the protasis introduced by means of εἰ is followed by an apodosis that cannot reasonably be separated from the protasis, the phrase τί οὖν constitutes a clause in its own right and it should be followed by a question mark. If there is no subsequent clause which serves as the apodosis to the εἰ-protasis, this εἰ-clause should be regarded as dependent on τί οὖν, which then should be followed either by a comma or by no punctuation mark at all. Instances of the first type are furnished by X. *Mem.* 3.13.6 Τί οὖν; ἔφη· εἰ τὸ ἐκείνου φορτίον ἔδει σε φέρειν, πῶς ἂν οἴει διατεθῆναι;[167] and Pl. *Prt.* 330c2–7 Τί οὖν; εἴ τις ἔροιτο ἐμέ τε καὶ σέ· "Ὦ Πρωταγόρα τε καὶ Σώκρατες, (...);" ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν αὐτῷ ἀποκριναίμην ὅτι δίκαιον· σὺ δὲ τίν' ἂν ψῆφον θεῖο; τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἄλλην; For the second type see e.g. X. *Smp.* 2.3 καὶ ὃς ἔφη· Τί οὖν εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκαι, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδίᾳ ἑστιώμεθα; Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης.

καὶ ὅσοι τὰ πολιτικὰ δεινοὶ γεγόνασιν; (...) ΣΩ. Τί οὖν εἰ τὰ ἱππικὰ ἐτύγχανες ἐπιθυμῶν σοφὸς γενέσθαι; (...) ΣΩ. Τί δὲ εἰ τὰ ἀκοντιστικὰ σοφὸς ἐβούλου γενέσθαι;

167 The OCT by Marchant has a comma after ἔφη. I have printed a high dot instead while a full stop would also be possible.

Our passage belongs to the first type. I would not separate the apodosis τί καὶ φήσεις τοῦτον from the preceding εἰ-clause, especially because of the presence of the emphatic καί in τί καὶ φήσεις τοῦτον. Therefore I follow Kayser (and most other editions) in printing a question mark after τί οὖν. With regard to the content of the whole passage I would remark that the domain of τί οὖν extends to the combination of what is stated about actors (εἴ τις – ἐκκαθαίρει) and about Nero (εἰ δ' αὐτός – ζῶντας). This too pleads in favour of a question mark after τί οὖν.

Arjan Nijk has suggested to me that τί οὖν may have turned into a kind of interrogative particle ("grammaticalization") which would justify Westermann's and Jones' punctuation, but a TLG survey of the passages where we find τί οὖν εἰ does not seem to warrant such an interpretation.

5.7.3 (p. 151.3) εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τυραννεύων εἰς τραγῳδοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας τὰ πράγματα ἑαυτοῦ ἄγοι λεαίνων τὴν φωνὴν καὶ δεδιὼς τὸν Ἠλεῖον ἢ τὸν Δελφόν, ἢ μὴ δεδιὼς μέν, κακῶς δὲ οὕτως ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην, ὡς **μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι** νομίζειν πρὸς τούτων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν τέτακται, τί τοὺς κακοδαίμονας ἀνθρώπους ἐρεῖς ὑπὸ τοιούτῳ καθάρματι ζῶντας;

μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι **A E** : μαστιγώσεσθαι **FQ** : μεμαστιγώσεσθαι Reiske[2] (et Cobet) : ⟨ὅσον⟩ μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι vel μὴ μεμαστιγώσεσθαι dubitanter Richards : μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι ⟨κέρδος⟩ Jacobs[6] : ⟨κτῆμα⟩ μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι Phillimore : locus valde obscurus

This is a very complicated passage which has evoked a number of divergent solutions. At first sight the words ὡς μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι νομίζειν πρὸς τούτων are in flat contradiction with Nero's own words at the beginning of this chapter, λέγονται γὰρ μαστιγοῦν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ. Probably this induced the scribe of **FQ** to omit μή. However, the interpolation of μή is hard to account for and this made Reiske suggest that μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι is a corruption of μεμαστιγώσεσθαι. The same solution was proposed independently by Cobet 1859, 77–78, who anticipates Schmid's discussion of the frequent use of the future perfect (see note on 5.7.1 [p. 150.2]). In the beginning of the chapter it is stated that Nero feared that the judges would whip him (δέδιεν ὁ χρηστὸς Νέρων τὰς Ἠλείων μάστιγας). With the conjecture μεμαστιγώσεσθαι the passage means: "Nero was not afraid but he performed so miserably that he thought he would be whipped by the judges". This will not do. It would mean that he would not fear the judges (namely for being whipped) while reckoning with the possibility of being whipped for a bad performance, which is absurd: "fearing the whip" and "expecting the whip" amount to the same. Moreover, Nero himself would never admit that he gave a bad performance; as stated at the beginning of the chapter, he reckons with the possibility that the judges are prejudiced against him.[168]

168 I have discussed this passage intensively with Arjan Nijk. He believes that μή should be removed, with **FQ** and Reiske and Cobet. Although he has not convinced me (and *vice versa*) I think it worthwhile to add his argument, which follows here below.

The addition of κέρδος (Jacobs) or κτῆμα (Phillimore) means that Nero would feel relieved if he would not get whipped after a bad performance; but this implies that he still fears being whipped, which is in contradiction with μὴ δεδιώς.

A different approach to the problem is taken by Salmasius and Jackson, who propose changing κακῶς into καλῶς in the preceding line. The sense is then: Nero has no fear and he performs so well that he finds that he doesn't deserve to get whipped. Given Nero's poor fame as a singer it can be excluded that Apollonius seriously reckons with the possibility of Nero giving a good performance. And even if Nero performed well it would be a poor reward not to get whipped. Finally, if Nero performed well, this would not be a cause for exasperation for Apollonius and his friends.

Kayser[2], XV defends the text as transmitted in **A E** by arguing that it is ridiculous that Nero hoped that he would not be punished by the judges exactly because he was their ruler ("immo hoc in imperatore ridiculum erat, quod sperabat saltem se non punitum iri a ludorum iudicibus, suo imperio subiectis"). I believe that Kayser is right. But in order to fully appreciate what the passage means we should have a look at the larger context. In the passage starting with τί οὖν; (p. 150.22), which describes the implications of Nero joining the company of tragic actors, Apollonius draws a comparison between professional actors and Nero. A professional actor who performs a king such as Oenomaus or Cresphontes on the stage and continues to believe that he is a king after the performance has ended, needs to be cured from frenzy. In Nero's case it is the other way round: once he has joined the group of actors he is subject to the rules which are valid for actors but he continues to behave as the emperor he is in real life. It is ridiculous that he should think that the rules which are valid for actors are not valid for him, being the

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"In my view, the rhetoric of the passage forces us to get rid of μή. What makes Nero's behaviour so pitiful is that he allows the relations of power to be reversed, so that he, the emperor, submits to the judgements and whipping of those over whom he in fact rules. His behaviour is the perverse analogue of the already perverse behaviour of the actor discussed in the previous paragraph: the actor becomes so saturated with his part as a tyrant that he believes himself to be a tyrant even outside the theatre; but the actual tyrant (αὐτὸς ὁ τυραννεύων) becomes so full of his acting that he forgets his role in real life.

Apart from fitting the general rhetorical thrust of the passage, this interpretation is reinforced by three linguistic arguments. 1) the construction X μὲν μή, Y δέ, suggests that the alternatives belong to the same spectrum, but that Y is a somewhat less strong alternative than X (cf. e.g. Maximus, *Dialexeis* 1.8. and 4.60). So the contrast is between fear (strong alternative) and mere reasoned expectation (weaker alternative, but still in tune with the general argument). A contrast between 'fearing (to be whipped)' and 'believing no whipping will occur' seems out of place here. 2) κακῶς ὑποκρίνομενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην is best interpreted as 'acting badly in the role that is his actual profession', i.e. Nero acts badly as a tyrant, which is ironic because that is the profession that he should have actually mastered in real life (on Nero's preoccupation with acting in such roles instead of taking care of his actual business, see καὶ τὴν Αὐγούστου τε καὶ Ἰουλίου σκευὴν ῥίψαντα κτλ). It is difficult to have ὑποκρίνομενος refer to Nero's 'performance' as the *actual* emperor in this context which is so explicitly concerned with *acting*. 3) The emphatic pronoun in ὧν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν τέτακται is best interpreted as highlighting a *contrast* between Nero's behaviour as an actor and his role in real life (he submits to whippings at the hand of those whose ruler he *actually* is)."

emperor; as soon as he enters the stage he is an actor and not the emperor. In the world outside the theatre, the judges are Nero's subjects; in the world of the theatre, the roles are reversed. If Nero gives a bad performance as an actor, the judges will whip him; he expects that they will refrain from doing so because in real life he is the emperor.

The main problem in this passage concerns the phrases τὰ πράγματα ἑαυτοῦ and τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην. Translators take these phrases as referring to Nero's performance on the stage but this does not do justice to the emphatic ἑαυτοῦ which occurs in both phrases. I rather think that the phrases refer to Nero as being the emperor. The phrase εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τυραννεύων εἰς τραγῳδοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας τὰ πράγματα ἑαυτοῦ ἄγοι is the reverse of what the actor does who after the performance believes he is the king he represented on the stage. Once on the stage there are two possibilities for Nero's mindset: either he is afraid, or he is not. The first alternative refers to the statement made in the first paragraph of the chapter, δέδιεν ὁ χρηστὸς Νέρων τὰς Ἠλείων μάστιγας. In the second alternative he is not afraid (namely of being whipped) but there is another problem, namely that he performs his role so badly that he thinks he will not get whipped. But what exactly is meant by "he performs his role" (ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην)? If τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην refers to his performance on the stage, as all translators appear to think, this leads to a contradiction: he is not afraid but his achievements as an actor are so poor that he expects to get whipped, which in the first alternative was exactly what he was afraid of. As we have already seen, some try to circumvent this contradiction by getting rid of μή but I have tried to show that this will not do. I propose to make τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην refer to what is really "Nero's own role", namely being the emperor.[169] Performing this role badly is then explained by the phrase starting with ὡς μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι: this phrase refers to the *content* of his bad performance as an emperor and not to its *consequences*, as is the case in all translations.[170] The content of his badly performing his role as an emperor is that he believes that he is above the law also when he enters the stage as an actor: he believes that the judges, seeing that it is the emperor himself who gives a poor performance as an actor, will refrain from whipping him. This is in accordance with the suggestion made above, namely that Nero continues to be the emperor when he is on the stage instead of fully behaving as an actor, which is the reverse equivalent of the actor who continues to believe that he is Oenomaus or Cresphontes after the performance has ended. And thus Nero's subjects have an emperor who is either afraid or misuses his power. In both cases they deserve pity.[171]

169 Arjan Nijk has ingeniously suggested to me that κακῶς δὲ οὕτως ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην implies that Nero is not even able as an actor to perform the role which he should perform in real life: Nero, who should play the role of the real emperor in real life, gives a bad performance of a ruler on the stage. I think that this interpretation of the phrase may accompany the interpretation proposed by me; the ambiguity may very well be intentional.

170 An instance of a ὡς-clause expressing the content is "He acted so badly that he even forgot the opening phrase of his speech". An instance of a ὡς-clause expressing the consequences is "He acted so badly that the audience started to laugh aloud".

171 In Boter 2019, 53–55 I proposed accepting Reiske's μεμαστιγώσεσθαι and deleting νομίζειν: "per-

I readily admit that my interpretation may seem to be far-fetched and I don't claim that it is certainly correct nor do I exclude the possibility that the text is corrupt. As I said at the beginning of this note: this is a very complicated passage.

5.7.3 (p. 151.5–6) τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι **τίνα ἡγῇ**, ὦ Μένιππε, **λυπηρότερον**, Ξέρξην καταπιμπράντα ἢ Νέρωνα ᾄδοντα;

> τίνα ἡγῇ] aut τίνα ⟨χαλεπώτερον⟩ vel ⟨φοβερώτερον⟩ vel ⟨ἐχθίω⟩ ἡγῇ aut τίνα ἡγῇ ⟨χαλεπώτερον⟩ vel ⟨φοβερώτερον⟩ vel ⟨ἐχθίω⟩ Reiske[1] : τίνα ἡγῇ ⟨ὀλεθριώτερον⟩ vel simile quid Radermacher : τίνα ⟨φοβερώτερον⟩ ἡγῇ vel τίνα ⟨πλείω παρέχειν πράγματα⟩ ἡγῇ exempli gratia Richards ‖ λυπηρότερον Mastronarde, praeeunte Jacobs[1/2] : λυπρότερον (vel πολεμιώτερον) Jacobs[1/2] : πολεμιώτερον vel potius ἐχθρότερον Jacobs[4] (hoc et Jacobs[6]) : πότερα **A E FQ** : ⟨ἐπιτηδεῦσαι χαλε⟩πώτερα; Reiske[2] : et inde exempli gratia ⟨ἐπιτηδεῦσαι χαλεπώτερα⟩; πότερα Schenkl[2] : ⟨ἀτοπώτερον⟩; πότερα dubitanter Jackson : locus admodum dubius

Editors and translators who accept the transmitted text, τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι τίνα ἡγῇ, ὦ Μένιππε; πότερα Ξέρξην καταπιμπράντα ἢ Νέρωνα ᾄδοντα;, interpret it as "How do you think he looks to the Greeks? Is he Xerxes the arsonist or Nero the singer?" (Jones). Now the question itself is superfluous because it is absurd to suppose that they would regard him as "Xerxes the arsonist". What is more, this sense cannot be extracted from the transmitted text: something must be added to τίνα ἡγῇ to make the sentence complete. Reiske was the first to see that a comparative is needed: the sense of the passage must be: "who was a greater evil to the Greeks: Xerxes who burnt cities or Nero with his songs?" The question is meant as a rhetorical question, as appears from the list of evils Nero is doing to the Greeks. Reiske added an adjective in the comparative before or after ἡγῇ. Jacobs, who did not know Reiske's conjectures, suspected that πότερα results from corruption of an original πολεμιώτερον or λυπρότερον. Jackson, who did not know either Reiske's or Jacobs' proposals, suspected that something like ἀτοπώτερον has fallen out between Μένιππε and πότερα. Of all these solutions the ones suggested by Jacobs appear most plausible to me; we can do without πότερα, behind which an original comparative is lurking. λυπρότερον has the advantage of being closer to πότερα than πολεμιώτερον and "bringing grief" suits the context better than "hostile" because Apollonius dwells on the effects of Nero's behaviour and not on his mental state. πότερα must be a further corruption of πότερον; there are four occurrences of πότερα in Philostratus against six of πότερον (and two of πότερ'). However, Donald Mastronarde has pointed out to me that in later Greek λυπηρός is the usual form of the adjective. Indeed, in Philostratus we find λυπηροῖς in *VA* 7.26.2 (p. 243.21) and λυπηροτάτης in *Ep.* 4 (p. 226.8 Kayser). Therefore I have followed Mastronarde's suggestion to print λυπηρότερον instead of Jacobs' λυπρότερον. But the passage remains open to serious doubt. — For the position of the

forming so badly that he would get whipped". Later, I realized that the future μεμαστιγώσεσθαι cannot be explained; we should have the present tense instead. Moreover, the interpolation of νομίζειν is hard to account for. As often, αἱ δεύτεραί πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι.

vocative cf. *VA* 1.35.2 (p. 34.18–19) ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι, ὦ Δάμι, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σοφὸν πλείω κινδυνεύειν κτέ.

5.7.3 (p. 151.14) (...) πολλαί σοι δόξουσι **θεατῶν** Ἰλιάδες περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι.

θεατῶν] θεάτ⟨ρ⟩ων Reiske[2] : κακῶν Jacobs[1/6] : τῶν ἀτῶν Olearius : δεινῶν vel ἀθλίων exempli gratia Westermann

Jacobs changes the transmitted θεατῶν into κακῶν, referring to the proverbial expression Ἰλιὰς κακῶν, which stands for "terrible events", an expression we find for the first time in Demosthenes (D. 19.148 κακῶν Ἰλιὰς περιειστήκει Θηβαίους).

However, there is no need to supply κακῶν to Ἰλιάδες: Philostratus uses the word Ἰλιάδες[172] without κακῶν again in 8.7.3 (p. 263.10–11) τὰς Ἰλιάδας ταύτας ἀεὶ ξυντιθέντες, "[they] constantly compose these catalogs of crime" (Jones). Therefore I think that the transmitted θεατῶν Ἰλιάδες must be kept in our passage. Apollonius hints at the terrible treatment which the spectators of Nero's performances will have to endure.

5.7.4 (p. 151.15) τὸ γὰρ τετμήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰσθμὸν **καὶ** οὐ τετμήσεσθαι (τέμνεται δέ, ὥς φασι, νῦν) πάλαι προὔμαθον θεοῦ φήναντος.

καὶ Par.1696[2il] (ci. Salmasius Richards) : ἤ **A E FQ**

Apollonius here refers to his own prediction in 4.24.2–3 that Nero would attempt to dig a canal through the Isthmus but that the attempt would end without success: "οὗτος" εἶπεν "ὁ αὐχὴν τῆς γῆς τετμήσεται, μᾶλλον δὲ οὔ" (p. 126.18–19) and τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τετμήσεσθαι καὶ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι (p. 127.5–6). In our passage, the attempt is indicated by the very next sentence, τέμνεται δέ, ὥς φασι, νῦν (p. 151.15–16). The unsuccessful outcome is referred to further on in this chapter, by ἀτελῆ δὲ ὀρύττοντα (p. 152.1) and Νέρωνα δὲ οὔτε πλευσούμενον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὁρῶ οὔτε ἐς τέρμα τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἥξοντα (p. 152.2–3). Therefore the transmitted ἤ cannot possibly be correct. While a single ἤ can stand for μᾶλλον ἤ (see Radt 2015c, and my note on 2.25 [p. 59.6]) it cannot stand for ἤ μᾶλλον, "or rather". This was realized by the corrector of Par.1696, who changed ἤ into καί. The same correction was later made independently by Salmasius and Richards. The corruption of καί into ἤ may be due to misunderstanding the paradoxical expression. I have accepted the correction. For confusion of καί and ἤ see Radt's note on Strabo 715.4.

172 Philostratus is also the only extant author before the Byzantine period who uses the word Ἰλιάδες with this metaphorical sense in the plural.

5.7.4 (p. 152.4) (...) Νέρωνα δὲ οὔτε πλευσούμενον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὁρῶ οὔτε ἐς τέρμα τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἥξοντα, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ φόβου μεστὸς **ἀναχωρήσειν** τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἀπόλωλεν.

ἀναχωρήσειν **FQ** (ci. Platt) : ἀναχωρῆσαι **A E**

The reading of **A E** δοκεῖ δέ μοι ... ἀναχωρῆσαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος can only mean "I think he has left Greece", which is impossible in this context. Therefore ἀναχωρήσειν, which may very well be a conjecture by the scribe of **FQ**, must be accepted. A parallel for δοκεῖ with the future infinitive is found at 5.29.3 (p. 165.29–30) δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ξίφει πληγεὶς μύρον ἐκδώσειν μᾶλλον ἢ αἷμα.

5.8 (p. 152.11) (...) αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρόσοικοι τοῖς Γαδείροις οὔτε ἐγίνωσκον ὅ τι εἴη τὰ Ὀλύμπια, οὐδ' ὅ τι **ἀγωνία ἢ** ἀγών, οὐδ' ἐφ' ὅτῳ θύουσιν κτέ.

ἀγωνία ἢ del. Reiske[2]

At first sight, the transmitted ἀγωνία ἢ ἀγών is a strange doublet and therefore Reiske suggested that ἀγωνία ἢ results from an erroneous ἀγωνία which the scribe sought to correct by adding ἢ ἀγών. The Olympic, Nemean, Isthmian and Pythian Games are almost always referred to as ἀγῶνες and occasionally as ἀγωνίσματα. There are a few passages where the word ἀγωνία is found in an Olympian or Pythian context. Now two of these are found in *VA*: 6.10.2 (p. 187.20–23): καὶ τὴν μὲν Πυθὼ τοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἥκοντας αὐλῷ τε παραπέμπειν καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ ψάλσει, κωμῳδίας τε καὶ τραγῳδίας ἀξιοῦν, εἶτα τὴν ἀγωνίαν παρέχειν τὴν γυμνὴν ὀψὲ τούτων, τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐξελεῖν ὡς ἀνάρμοστα καὶ οὐ χρηστὰ ἐκεῖ κτέ. and 8.18.1 (p. 288.16–17) γυμνῆς τε ἀγωνίας καὶ μουσικῆς, ὡς Πυθοῖ πάτριον. And there are more occurrences of the word ἀγωνία for a contest. Therefore, although in Philostratus too ἀγών occurs much more frequently than ἀγωνία, it is very well possible that Philostratus used both words here on purpose, to indicate that the Hispanians didn't understand either term.

5.9.1 (p. 152.14) Τοὺς γοῦν οἰκοῦντας τὰ **Ἴσπολα** (πόλις δὲ κἀκείνη Βαιτική) φησὶν ὁ Δάμις παθεῖν τι πρὸς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτήν κτέ.

ἴσπολα **E** : ἴσπολα **FQ** : ἵπολα **A** : ἴσπαλα Scaliger : Ἴλιπα dubitanter Westermann

It can hardly be doubted that the city Philostratus refers to is Sevilla, called *Hispalis* in Latin, and Ἰσπαλις in Str. 3.2.1, Str. *Chr.* 3.50[173] and Ptol. *Geog*. 2.4.14 and 8.4.4. Once more, Kayser's choice for ἵπολα is probably due to his predilection for **A**. Scaliger corrected the omicron into an alpha but because the name of the town in Philostratus also deviates from the Greek name in Strabo and Ptolemaeus and from the Latin name with

173 Radt prints the reading of the mss., Ἴσπαλις, with *spiritus lenis*; Ἴσπαλις, with *spiritus asper*, is a conjecture by Xylander.

regard to number and gender I think it wisest to acquiesce in the anomalous omicron as well.

5.10.1 (p. 153.7) τριῶν γὰρ ἡμερῶν ἰδίᾳ **σπουδάσαντες** ὁ μὲν ἀπῄει περιβαλὼν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὁ δὲ "ἔρρωσο" ἔφη "καὶ μέμνησο τοῦ Βίνδικος."

σπουδάσαντες **A**^{1sl} : σπουδάσαντας **A E FQ**, fortasse recte

If the nominative were transmitted in all mss. there would be no reason to doubt it but in fact it is only found as a variant reading in **A** and it may well be a conjecture. The accusative σπουδάσαντας might be explained as an error due to *Echoschreibung* caused by the immediately preceding σφας but it may also be due to Philostratus himself. With the accusative σπουδάσαντας the sentence starts as a continuation of the accusative and infinitive construction and then continues in *oratio recta*. By the same token, a little bit further on (p. 153.12–14) there is a switch from *oratio recta*, ἔφη (sc. Βίνδιξ) γὰρ Νέρωνα εἶναι πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ κιθαρῳδὸν κτέ, to nominative and infinitive, προφέρειν δὲ αὐτῷ μανίαν μὲν κτέ, where Βίνδιξ is the subject of προφέρειν. However, because here the transition would be very harsh I have opted for the nominative, albeit with some doubt.

5.11 (p. 154.2) τὴν γὰρ ἰσχύν, ᾗ πρὸς ὀλίγον Βιτέλ(λ)ιός τε καὶ Γάλβας καὶ Ὄθων ἐχρήσαντο, Θηβαίοις εἴκασεν, οἳ χρόνον κομιδῇ βραχὺν **ἤνθησαν** εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα.

ἤνθησαν **A**^{1sl} (ci. Reiske^{2} Cobet) : ἤχθησαν **A E FQ**

The meaning of the phrase is clear: the Thebans managed to wield power over Greece only for a very short while. The transmitted ἤχθησαν is problematic in several respects. As to the meaning, in the first place, it is strange to state that they "were brought/led to" the affairs of the Greeks, without further qualification. In the second place, the aorist ἤχθησαν refers to the ascent of the Thebans which was completed once they had established their supremacy; this does not accord with the accusative χρόνον κομιδῇ βραχύν which refers to the brief period during which they held the hegemony in Greece. Finally, the passive ἤχθησαν does not do justice to the fact that the Thebans succeeded in establishing their hegemony by their own efforts.

The supralinear reading in **A**, ἤνθησαν (also suggested by Reiske and Cobet independently), is exactly what we need here; see LSJ s.v. II.3.a "*flourish* in wealth and prosperity", for which they refer *inter alia* to Hdt. 6.127.4 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρεθρίης ἀνθεύσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λυσανίης (ἀπίκετο) and Th. 1.19 καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς (= τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις) ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἰδία παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ὡς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἤνθησαν. The corruption of ἤνθησαν into ἤχθησαν may have been facilitated by the immediately following εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα, because the combination ἄγω εἰς occurs very frequently.

5.13.1 (p. 154.17) τρεῖς γὰρ τῷ βρέφει κεφαλαὶ ἦσαν ἐξ οἰκείας ἑκάστη δέρης, τὰ δ' **ὑπ'** αὐταῖς ἑνὸς πάντα.

ὑπ' Jackson : ἐπ' **A E FQ**

The phrase ἐπ' αὐταῖς πάντα, "all further parts of the body", for indicating the whole body except the head and neck is unfelicitous. Jackson's conjecture ὑπ' results in a much more natural expression, "everything below the head and neck". For the phrase as such compare Gal. 3.568.11–12 Kühn ἢ πάντως γε κατά τι τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν μερῶν. For the confusion of ὑπ' and ἐπ' see Radt's note on Strabo 791.9.

5.14.2 (p. 155.21) οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς ἥρωας, ὧν ποιητικὴ πᾶσα ἔχεται, καὶ διαφθείρουσι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἐπειδὴ ἔρωτάς τε ἀτόπους οἱ ποιηταὶ ἑρμηνεύουσι καὶ ἀδελφῶν γάμους καὶ διαβολὰς ἐς θεοὺς καὶ βρώσεις παίδων καὶ πανουργίας ἀνελευθέρους καὶ δίκας **⟨ἀδίκους⟩** κτέ.

⟨ἀδίκους⟩ supplevit Reiske[2]

The list of bad things which the poets ascribe to the gods ends with δίκας. The word is usually translated as "quarrels" but δίκη does not have this meaning. And even if it could have this meaning it would be out of place because in Aesop's fables there are also quarrels. Reiske suggested that ἀδίκους has fallen out. This is a very ingenious suggestion. All preceding actions are negative and therefore δίκη, which is neutral in itself, needs a negative adjective. ἀδίκους is an excellent candidate because it may have fallen out as the result of haplography. Moreover, it is a nice oxymoron, a figure of speech of which Philostratus is especially fond; see Schmid 4.514–516. Therefore I follow Schenkl and Jones in accepting Reiske's addition of ἀδίκους.

5.14.3 (p. 156.3) οἱ μὲν γὰρ βιάζονται πιθανοὺς φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν λόγους, ὁ δ' ἀπαγγέλλων λόγον, **ὅς** ἐστι ψευδής, πᾶς οἶδεν, **αὐτὸ τὸ** μὴ περὶ ἀληθινῶν ἐρεῖν ἀληθεύει.

ὅς] ὃν ὡς **FQ** ‖ αὐτὸ **E FQ** : ὅτι αὐτὸ **A** ‖ αὐτὸ τὸ] αὐτῷ τῷ Bentley

The text which I regard as authentic, ὁ δ' ἀπαγγέλλων λόγον, ὅς ἐστι ψευδής, πᾶς οἶδεν, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ περὶ ἀληθινῶν ἐρεῖν ἀληθεύει, is only found in **E**. It contains two irregularities of the type we find so often in Philostratus. In the first place, πᾶς οἶδεν is loosely attached to λόγον, ὅς ἐστι ψευδής; this induced the scribe of **FQ** to write λόγον, ὃν ὡς ἐστι ψευδής, πᾶς οἶδεν, "a story about which everybody knows that it is untrue". In the second place, the sentence starts with Aesop as the subject but after the phrase λόγον, ὅς ἐστι ψευδής, πᾶς οἶδεν the original subject is replaced by αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ περὶ ἀληθινῶν ἐρεῖν (in which ἐρεῖν is to be regarded as an aorist infinitive, cf. Schmid 4.38, 606): "but he, while telling a story which everybody knows is untrue, precisely the telling untrue things tells the truth". This was felt to be intolerable by the scribe of **A**, who added ὅτι in order to make the following phrase dependent on πᾶς οἶδεν; in fact this leads to another syntactic irregular-

ity because there is no finite verb governed by the subject ὁ δ' ἀπαγγέλλων λόγον. If there were need to change the text I would rather accept Bentley's proposal to change αὐτὸ τό into αὐτῷ τῷ: "but he ... precisely by telling untrue things tells the truth".

5.15.1 (p. 156.20–22) (...) ὁ δ' Αἴσωπος ἔχοι μὲν οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἔχειν, φείδοιτο δὲ καὶ ὧν εἶχε, γάλακτος δὲ αὐτῷ **σπένδων**, ὅσον ὄϊς ἀμελχθεῖσα ἐδίδου, καὶ κηρίον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν **φέρων**, ὅσον τὴν χεῖρα ἐμπλῆσαι, ἑστιᾶν **δ'** αὐτὸν καὶ μύρτοις ᾤετο καὶ παραθεὶς **αὖ** τῶν ῥόδων ἢ τῶν ἴων κομιδῇ ὀλίγα.

σπένδων **A E FQ** : σπένδειν **A**^{1sl} : σπένδοι Kayser$^{1/2}$ ‖ φέρων **A E FQ** : φέρειν **A**^{1sl} : φέροι Kayser$^{1/2}$ ‖ ἑστιᾶν – ῥόδων] ἑστιᾶν {δ'} αὐτὸν καὶ μύρτοις ⟨στεφανώσας⟩ ᾤετο καὶ {παραθεὶς} ῥόδων αὖ {τῶν} Reiske^{2} ‖ αὖ Reiske^{2} : ἂν **A E FQ**

The transmitted text, which contains two participles linked to the finite verb ᾤετο by means of the particle δέ, has puzzled some scholars, starting with (a predecessor of) the scribe of **A**, who added the infinitive ending ειν above the line for both participles. Reiske, keeping the participles, deletes δ'; Kayser changes the two participles into optatives, congruent with the preceding series of optatives. There is no need to doubt the transmitted text. Schmid 4.550 quotes six passages in Philostratus (five of which occur in *VA*) where a participle is followed by δέ with a finite verb, e.g. 6.11.9 (p. 192.8–9) εἶτα μειρακίῳ καλῷ ἐντυχὼν καὶ ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸ τῆς ὥρας σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅτου τῶν πολιτῶν εἴη παῖς ἐζήτεις. The words καὶ μύρτοις are to be taken on the same level as the two preceding participles σπένδων and φέρων and the following participle παραθείς. The change of the series of optatives into the indicative ᾤετο need not bother us either after the two intervening participles, each of which is followed by a relative clause; the same goes for the aorist participle παραθείς after the two present participles σπένδων and φέρων.

In one respect the transmitted text is corrupt: ἄν cannot be accepted. The only way in which it could possibly be construed is by taking it with the infinitive ἑστιᾶν but then it should stand much closer to ἑστιᾶν. Reiske accordingly proposed changing it into αὖ, which suits the context perfectly. For Philostratus' use of αὖ in combination with other particles, among which καί, see Schmid 4.548.

5.15.2 (p. 157.1) ἐπεὶ δὲ καίτοι λογιώτατος ὢν κατανάλωσεν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς **σοφίας** μέρη καὶ ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ Αἰσώπου, ἐνθυμεῖται τὰς Ὥρας κτέ.

σοφίας **A** : φιλοσοφίας **E FQ**

φιλοσοφία and σοφία are often confused in *VA* (see notes on 1.2.1 [p. 2.15] and 1.7.2 [p. 7.13–14]) but here **A**'s σοφία must be right because it refers to the distribution of σοφία which was mentioned above (p. 156.24 ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς σοφίας διανομήν); at the end of the chapter Apollonius mentions the "house of wisdom" (ἐν σοφίας οἰκίᾳ). φιλοσοφία is the gift assigned to the one who had given the most expensive offering to Hermes (p. 156.24–25); σοφία is the overarching name covering all the crafts awarded by Hermes.

5.17 (p. 158.2) Τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν τοιῶνδε ὀρῶν αἰτία; γῆ κρᾶσιν ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου παρεχομένη τύφεται μὲν καὶ παρ᾽ ἑαυτῆς **φυσᾷ**, πῦρ δ᾽ οὔπω ἐκδίδωσιν.

φυσᾷ scripsi : φύσει **A E F**^{1pc}**Q** Phot.: φύει **F**^{ac1}

The transmitted φύσει is strange. Normally, the dative φύσει suffices to express "by nature"; in our passage it is difficult to construe it with the preceding παρ᾽ ἑαυτῆς. Further, the function of καί in καὶ παρ᾽ ἑαυτῆς is hard to explain: it is telling that it is omitted in the translations. As to the content, it is totally superfluous to state that the volcano behaves as it does "by its own nature". I therefore assume that φύσει is a corruption of φυσᾷ: "the mountain smoulders and puffs up ⟨smoke⟩ from itself, but does not yet bellow forth fire" is an adequate description of Mount Etna. The corruption was almost inevitable, φύσει being so frequent.

5.19.2[174] **(p. 158.22)** ἐκεῖνος καὶ Μουσωνίῳ ἔφασκεν ἐντετυχηκέναι περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ κεκελευσμένῳ ὀρύττειν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν **ἀπευφημῆσαι** τὰ εἰκότα, τὸν δὲ ἔχεσθαι τῆς σμινύης καὶ ἐρρωμένως τῇ γῇ ἐμβάλλειν κτέ.

ἀπευφημῆσαι **A E FQ** : ἐπευφημῆσαι **A**^{1sl} : ἀνευφημῆσαι Olearius

Olearius rejects ἀπευφημῆσαι because, so he states, it never occurs elsewhere in Greek (which is true). He suggests ἀνευφημῆσαι instead, which suits the context perfectly: "*cry aloud, shriek*" (LSJ s.v. I.1). However, Schmid 4.431–432 lists numerous composite verbs newly coined by Philostratus; some of these, such as ἀποπτερνίζω, are not found elsewhere. Therefore I think that ἀπευφημῆσαι may well be authentic, with the same meaning as ἀνευφημῆσαι. ἐπευφημῆσαι, added above the line in **A**, is probably a conjecture. It is always used in a positive sense (also in *VA* 7.10.2 [p. 227.9]), which is the opposite of what is needed here.

5.19.2 (p. 158.27) καὶ ἐάσθω τὰ Μουσωνίου πλείω ὄντα καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, ὡς μὴ δοκοίην θρασύνεσθαι **πρὸς τὸν ἀμελῶς αὐτὰ εἰπόντα**.

πρὸς τὸν ἀμελῶς αὐτὰ εἰπόντα] ἀμελῶς αὐτὰ εἰπών temptanter Jacobs^{6} ‖ ἀμελῶς] ἀφελῶς Bowie : ἐμμελῶς Olearius : ⟨μὴ⟩ ἀμελῶς Fertig

The first question to be answered is who is meant by τὸν ἀμελῶς αὐτὰ εἰπόντα. Some scholars (Olearius, Phillimore, Bowie) claim that it refers to Musonius' biographer but the phrase τὸν αὐτὰ εἰπόντα cannot be taken this way: αὐτά refers to Musonius' sayings and not to his whole life, and εἰπόντα is the right word to describe Musonius' utterances but not the way in which these utterances were written down. Therefore Bowie's conjecture cannot be accepted. Most scholars take the words to refer to Musonius and

174 In my edition, I omitted to add the section number 2 in the margin of line 21.

I agree. ἀμελῶς is not to be taken in a negative sense here: it refers to the *ex tempore* character of Musonius' sayings. Writing these down would not do justice to this character.

5.21.4 (p. 161.5) εἰ δὴ ταῦτα **πάντ' ἔχεις**, θαρρῶν αὔλει, ὦ Κάνε· μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ ἡ Εὐτέρπη ἔσται.

πάντ' ἔχεις **A**^{1sl} et **A**^{1mg} : παρέχεις **A E FQ** : πάντα παρέχεις Morel

παρέχεις, the reading of the archetype, appears to be an *Echoschreibung* of παρέχεις a few lines above (p. 160.24–25): τὸ γὰρ ποικίλον αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἐς πάντας τρόπους τοῦτο ἐξασκεῖς τε καὶ παρέχεις τοῖς παρὰ σὲ φοιτῶσιν. There, however, Apollonius speaks about the performance the aulos-player offers to his audience; here he speaks about the abilities a good aulos-player should have. Therefore **A**'s variant reading (remarkably added both above the line and in the margin) is to be preferred, the more so because πάντ' emphasizes that the aulos-player should have all the mentioned abilities at his disposal. Morel conflated the two transmitted readings into πάντα παρέχεις, which is found in all subsequent editions.

5.24.1 (p. 162.1) Τοιάδε μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ, **τὰ δὲ** ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπειδὴ εἰσέπλευσεν.

In the transmitted text the second clause, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, might seem to be elliptic. We would either expect τοιαῦτα or something similar as a predicate to τὰ δέ, or τάδε δέ instead of τὰ δέ. The latter solution is quite easy because τάδε might have been corrupted into τά as the result of haplography. However, there is an exact parallel for our passage, namely 8.4 (p. 259.13) Τοιαῦτα ἠκροβολίσαντο πρὸ τῆς δίκης, τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ. Therefore I have refrained from changing the transmitted text.

5.27.1 (p. 164.10) ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος τηλικόσδε ὢν πολλὰ μειρακιώδη ἔπαθε καὶ μηλόβοτον γυναίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνῆκεν, ὑφ' ὧν οὕτω ῥᾳθύμως ἀπέθανεν, ὡς καίτοι προγινώσκων ἃ **μέλλει** πείσεσθαι, μηδ' ἃ προῄδει φυλάξασθαι.

μέλλει **A E FQ** : ἔμελλε Kayser^{2}

There is no need to change the transmitted present into the imperfect as Kayser does. Cf. for instance Ael. *VH* 13.40 ᾔδει δὲ ὅτι ἃ μέλλει λέγειν τῷ κοινῷ λυσιτελεῖ.

5.27.3 (p. 164.18) διαλεχθεὶς δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ γενναῖά τε καὶ ἥμερα καὶ διελθὼν λόγον οὐ μακρὸν "ἐπιδημεῖ" ἔφη "ὁ Τυανεύς;" "ναί," ἔφασαν "βελτίους γε ἡμᾶς **ἐργασόμενος**."

ἐργασόμενος **FQ** (ci. Reiske^{2}) : ἐργασάμενος **A E**

Reiske, who did not know that **FQ** have ἐργασόμενος, proposed reading the future participle instead of the aorist with the argument that it is "modestius"; with ἐργασάμενος

Euphrates and Dio would say that they had indeed become better men, which might sound preposterous. Apart from this I think that the aorist participle is unfelicitous because it would mean that Apollonius is now in Egypt with no further intention to make the people there better men because the work is already over and done with. It is telling that some translators too seem to favour the future participle: "emendationi nostrum incumbens" (Olearius), "Er ist hier, war die Antwort, und um unsere Besserung bemüht" (Jacobs), "rebus nostris intentus emendandis" (Westermann).

5.28.1 (p. 165.4) ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεύς (καὶ γὰρ ἐβόησε τὸ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πλῆθος συντιθέμενοι τῷ λόγῳ) "τί σοι" ἔφη "ἡ Νέρωνος ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο;" **"Νέρων" εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος** "κιθάραν μὲν ἴσως ᾄδει ἁρμόττεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ᾔσχυνεν ἀνέσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει."

νέρων εἶπεν ὁ ἀπολλώνιος **A** : καὶ ὁ ἀπολλώνιος νέρων εἶπε **E FQ**

Following another interlocutor's speech both the word order καὶ ὁ X "..." εἶπε/ἔφη "...", and the word order "..." εἶπεν/ἔφη ὁ X "..." are well attested in *VA* so both readings are equally possible, although the former type is found more frequently than the latter. Therefore a choice must be made on subjective grounds. In **A**'s reading the repetition of the name of Nero immediately after Vespasian's question gives a nice echoing effect. Further, it might be argued that the change from **A**'s asyndetic phrase to the more regular phrase in **E FQ** is easier to explain than the other way round.

5.28.2 (p. 165.6) "ξύμμετρον οὖν" **εἶπε** "κελεύεις εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα;"

εἶπε **A FQ** : εἶπεν **E** : ἔφη Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2Adn}

Kayser was probably dissatisfied with the triple εἶπε in p. 165.4–6. Indeed, usually Philostratus alternates εἶπε and ἔφη (cf. note on 3.19.1 [p. 85.21]) but this is not always the case. Other occurrences of triple εἶπε are found at 4.32.1 (p. 133.11–13), 4.44.3–4 (p. 144.7–9) and 7.42.2 (p. 256.15–18). At 7.42.2 (p. 256.17) Kayser prints εἶπε in both editions but in his note in the 1870 edition he writes "corrige ἔφη".

5.29.4 (p. 166.4) ἐῶ τὰ ἀσελγέστερα, ὡς μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγοιμι. μὴ **δὴ** περιίδοιμι Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τοιούτου ἀρχθέντας κτέ.

δὴ **FQ** : δὲ **A E**

With δέ, the reading of **A E**, we cannot but regard περιίδοιμι as coordinate with λέγοιμι but this is excluded because (ὡς) μὴ περιίδοιμι Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τοιούτου ἀρχθέντας is in no way related to Vespasian's being silent on Nero's debauches. The alternative solution, that μὴ περιίδοιμι is coordinate with ἐῶ, seems very unnatural to me. Therefore **FQ**'s δή must be accepted. It is to be listed among the felicitous conjectures of **FQ**. The corruption of δή to δέ was facilitated by the closeness of λέγοιμι and περιίδοιμι.

5.30.2 (p. 166.22) τοσαῦτα σπουδάσαντες ὁ μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπὼν μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια κατὰ μεσημβρίαν **ἄλλο τι παρ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττουσι** κτέ.

ἄλλο τι παρ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττουσι] ἄλλο τι παρ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττειν vel ἄλλο τι ⟨πράττειν⟩ παρ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττουσιν Reiske[1] (hoc etiam Reiske[2]) : ἄλλο τι παρ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττουσι ⟨πράττειν⟩ Kayser[2]

Reiske and Kayser find it necessary to add πράττειν to ἄλλο τι but to my mind the ellipse is quite acceptable. Schmid 4.111 quotes a number of passages in which the verb which is omitted in a relative clause can easily be supplied from the clause on which it depends, e.g. 4.38.3 (p. 138.4–5) ἐπελθὼν γῆν ὅσην οὔπω τις ἀνθρώπων. Although I have not found exact parallels I think that in our passage we have the reverse situation: after μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν ... ἄλλο τι the expected infinitive is replaced by the relative clause παρ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττουσι, after which the unexpressed infinitive πράττειν is easily supplied mentally. Schmid 4.111–112 remarks that verbs expressing movement, activity and the like are regularly omitted in Philostratus; this may be relevant for the evaluation of this passage as well. If one thinks that the transmitted text is unacceptable I would prefer Reiske's first solution, ἄλλο τι παρ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττειν, in which the predicate of the relative clause is to be supplied mentally from the infinitive in the main clause.

5.32.2 (p. 167.18–20) ἐννοῶν γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Τιβέριον (...) εἶτα τὸν χρηστὸν Κλαύδιον, ὡς ὑπὸ γυναίων ἡττηθεὶς ἐπελάθετο **τοῦ ἄρχειν**, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν (ἀπέθανε γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὥς φασι), Νέρωνος δὲ τί ἂν καθαπτοίμην εἰπόντος Ἀπολλωνίου βραχὺν καὶ **ἀδρὸν** λόγον περὶ ἀνέσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιτάσεως, αἷς Νέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤσχυνε;

⟨οὐ μόνον⟩ τοῦ ἄρχειν dubitanter Richards ‖ ἀδρὸν Reiske[1/2] : ἀθρόον **A E FQ**

Normally we find ἀλλὰ καί preceded by οὐ μόνον but this is not always the case. Schmid 3.94 quotes a number of passages in Aelian where οὐ μόνον is absent, e.g. *NA* 5.2 Ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ γλαῦκα μὴ γίνεσθαί φασι τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰσκομισθεῖσαν ἔξωθεν ἀποθνήσκειν, where according to Schmid μή stands for μὴ μόνον μή. For Philostratus see for instance *VA* 3.51 (p. 106.13–15) ἀφικομένῳ μοι πεζῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεδώκατε τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν κοινωνήσαντες δεδώκατε καὶ διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πορεύεσθαι. So there is no need to add οὐ μόνον in our passage.

Vespasian refers to Apollonius' remark on Nero in 5.28.1 (p. 165.4–5) "Νέρων" εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "κιθάραν μὲν ἴσως ᾄδει ἁρμόττεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἤσχυνεν ἀνέσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει." The transmitted ἀθρόον is interpreted variously as either "omnia illius acta complectenti" (Rinuccino), "multa complexam" (Olearius), "complete" (Phillimore), "pregnant" (Jones), or "ausdrucksvollem" (Jacobs), "expressives" (Chassang), "terse" (Conybeare), "bondig" (Mooij). Both sets of meanings, however, cannot be attributed to ἀθρόος which, when said of speech, means either "a flood of words" (Pl. *R.* 344d2–3 ἀθρόον καὶ πολὺν τὸν λόγον) or "a collective utterance" (E. *Ba*. 725 ἀθρόῳ στόματι). For the latter meaning in Philostratus see *VA* 6.27.1 (p. 211.5) βοῆς δὲ ἀθρόας τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ γυναικῶν ἤκουσαν, 8.15.2 (p. 286.27–28) φήμης δ' ἀθρόας τε καὶ ξυντόνου κατασχούσης

τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, *Her.* 51.9 (p. 65.19–20 De Lannoy) θρῆνον ἤχησεν ὀξύν τε καὶ ἀθρόον. The postulated meaning "omnia illius acta complectenti" does not accord well with the particle *καί*, for which we would rather expect *ἀλλά* in order to express the antithesis between short and complete.

Reiske's *ἁδρόν* suits the context perfectly: Vespasian characterizes Apollonius' remark as "short but powerful". For *ἁδρόν* in relation to speech Reiske refers to Longin. 40.4 ἔστι μὲν γενναῖον καὶ τὸ λῆμμα, ἁδρότερον δὲ γέγονε τῷ τὴν ἁρμονίαν μὴ κατεσπεῦσθαι. The corruption can easily be explained as resulting from (inner) dictation, the two words being almost homophonous. I have not found parallels for the combination of βραχύς and ἁδρός but there are some cases where βραχύς and ἰσχυρός occur together: D.H. *Rh.* 10.4 καίτοι βραχὺς ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος, ὡς τὰ ἰσχυρότατα βραχύτατα λεκτέον; Alex.Aphr. *in Top.* p. 241.27–28 Wallies οὐ μόνον δὲ εὗρε τὸν τόπον περιττῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡρμήνευσεν ἰσχυρῶς τε καὶ βραχέως.

5.32.3 (p. 167.25) ὁρῶν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὑφ' ὧν εἶπον **τυράννων** διαβεβλημένον τὸ ἄρχειν ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς ποιοῦμαι, πῶς ἂν διαθείμην αὐτὸ προσκεκρουκὸς ἤδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

τυραννίδων Lugd.73D Laur.CS.155

In support of τυραννίδων Kayser[2], in his note on this passage, refers to 5.33.2 (p. 168.13–14) ὅσα μὲν δὴ αἱ μοναρχίαι ὑβρίζουσιν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ χρὴ μανθάνειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἴρηκας, and 5.34.2 (p. 169.26–28) δημοκρατίαν δὲ ἀσπάζομαι μέν (καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἥττων ἥδε ἡ πολιτεία, ἀλλὰ τυραννίδων τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχιῶν αἱρετωτέρα τοῖς σώφροσι), δέδια δὲ κτέ. But both parallels are unconvincing. In 5.33.2 Euphrates, who advises restoring the Roman Republic, objects to monarchy as such; in 5.34.2 Dio speaks about several types of government. Moreover, the relative clause *ὑφ' ὧν εἶπον τυράννων* refers directly to Vespasian's discussion of the emperors from Tiberius on. Therefore Kayser's acceptance of the reading of Lugd.73D and Laur.CS.155 is wrong.

5.33.2 (p. 168.16) τὸ γὰρ τυραννεύειν οὕτως ἔοικε νέοις, ὡς τὸ μεθύειν, ὡς τὸ ἐρᾶν, καὶ νέος μὲν τυραννεύσας οὔπω κακός, **ἢν** μιαιφόνος παρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ ὠμὸς καὶ ἀσελγὴς δόξῃ.

ἢν ⟨μὴ⟩ Olearius (ita iam vertit Morel : *si ... non fuerit*; et Cobet Conybeare)

According to the transmitted text Euphrates says: "a young emperor is not (*or:* not yet) bad if he is murderous, cruel and debauched". Morel is the first to be dissatisfied with this, witness his translation "si praeter tyrannidem homicida, si crudelis, si lascivus non fuerit", while keeping the transmitted Greek text. Olearius adds *μή* in the Greek text. He is followed by most editors and translators, the exceptions being Kayser, Westermann, Chassang and Phillimore. Indeed, at first sight it would seem absurd to state that a young emperor is not regarded as bad while being murderous, cruel and debauched. As Cobet 1859, 131 writes: "Condonari aliquid iuventuti potest et multum quidem: sed etiam in his sunt certi denique fines". Moreover, the omission of *μή* can be easily explained as

resulting from haplography caused by homophony of μή and the initial syllable μι- of the immediately following μιαίφονος.

Even so, I believe that the context favours the transmitted text, without μή. Apollonius contrasts the position of a young and an old emperor. He tries to dissuade Vespasian from becoming emperor, adducing his advanced age as the main argument for his advice. In order to strengthen this argument he must make the contrast between the young and the old emperor as great as possible. And therefore the mild old emperor is contrasted with the cruel young emperor. The old emperor will be reproached for his ambition to become emperor even if he is humane and self-controlled while the young emperor will be forgiven all his wrongdoings because of his youth. Moreover, the statement that an emperor is not (or "not yet") bad if he does not murder is not very informative and it can hardly count as an argument that could convince Vespasian.

Although in some places οὔπω is just a synonym of οὐ I believe that here it has its basic meaning "not yet": all his bad behaviour does not yet make the young emperor bad, that is, in the eyes of others.

5.33.3 (p. 168.23) δοκεῖ γάρ τις ἢ καταγνοὺς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης τὸ ἐν νῷ τυραννεῦσαι παρεῖναι ἢ **τυραννεύοντι** ἐκστῆναι ἑτέρῳ, δείσας δήπου αὐτὸν ὡς ἄνδρα.

τυραννεύοντι **A E FQ** : τυραννησείοντι Kayser^{2T} : τυραννευσείοντι Kayser^{2Adn} (ad p. 317.5 editionis suae)

Kayser's conjecture must have been inspired by the conviction that Euphrates refers to the struggle for the empty imperial throne after Nero's death but in the sequel Euphrates deals with Vindex's plot against Nero, which took place when Nero was firmly established as the emperor. Therefore the transmitted τυραννεύοντι is quite acceptable.

5.34.1 (p. 169.20–23) "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε "πῇ μὲν ὅμοια, πῇ δὲ ἀνόμοια· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς πολλῷ βελτίων ἂν **ἦς** Νέρωνα καταλύων μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διορθούμενος, **ἡγοῦ{μαι}** κἀμοὶ πρὸς σὲ εἰρῆσθαι, σὺ δὲ ἐᾷκεις ἀγῶνα ποιουμένῳ μὴ καταλυθῆναί ποτε αὐτόν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν **ἐκεῖ{νου}** πραγμάτων εὖ τιθέμενος ἐρρώννυέ που τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ πάντας, οὓς κακῶς ἔρρωτο."

ἦς Jones : ἦν **A E FQ** : ἦσθα Richards ‖ ἡγοῦ{μαι} scripsi : ἡγοῦμαι **A E FQ** ‖ ἐκεῖ{νου} Jacobs$^{1/6}$: ἐκείνου **A E FQ**

At first sight there might seem to be some confusion on who is addressing whom in this passage. Apollonius asks Dio whether he has anything to add to Euphrates' words. With the transmitted ἦν Dio speaks about Vespasian in the third person but when he says σὺ δὲ ἐᾷκεις ἀγῶνα ποιουμένῳ μὴ καταλυθῆναί ποτε αὐτόν it is clear that he is addressing Vespasian directly. Such a switch would seem to be too harsh even in Philostratus and therefore I agree with Jones that ἦν must be a corruption of the second person singular. Jones' conjecture ἦς is paralleled by *Ep.* 36 (p. 244.7 K.) and at *VA* 3.19.1

(p. 86.1) I have accepted ἧς, found in **E F** against **A**'s ἧσθον (Kayser prints ἧσθα, found in Laur.CS.155).

The transmitted text with ἡγοῦμαι means: "for I think I have myself told you too etc.", which is a superfluous remark: why would Dio *think* that he has said this too and not know it for sure? ἡγοῦ gives a much better text: "You can regard Euphrates' words as having been directed to you by me too", that is, "I fully agree with what Euphrates has said on the subject", thus referring to πῇ μὲν ὅμοια in the preceding sentence. For this use of ἡγοῦ see for instance 8.7.48 (p. 281.17) καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμῆσθαί με, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθαι μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ Ἀνάγκης. The corruption into ἡγοῦμαι may partly have been caused by *Echoschreibung* of the immediately following κἀμοί. — Similar errors occur in the mss. at 2.14.2 (p. 50.25) ἐνθυμοῦ{μαι} Reiske[1]: ἐνθυμοῦμαι **A E F**, and at 7.28.1 (p. 245.25) {ἐ}δόκει Bentley: ἐδόκει **A E FQ**.

Jacobs' conjecture ἐκεῖ for ἐκεῖνου is confirmed by the observation that a contrast to ἐπὶ πάντας is required: by solving the problems in Judea Vespasian strengthened Nero's behaviour against all those who were suffering from his misuse of power. This point gets lost with the transmitted ἐκείνου.

5.34.3 (p. 170.5) τουτὶ δ' ὑπάρξειν ἡγοῦμαί σοι **μηδὲ⟨ν⟩** πονήσαντι.

μηδὲ⟨ν⟩ scripsi : μηδὲ **A** : μὴ **E FQ**

The mss. are divided between μηδέ (**A**) and μή (**E FQ**). It is more probable that μηδέ was consciously or unconsciously turned into μή than the other way round and therefore I assume that the archetype had μηδέ. "Without any trouble", which is evidently what is required here, is usually expressed by οὐδὲν/μηδὲν πονῶν/πονήσας; see for instance Aesop. 94.3 Hausrath-Hunger, X. *Cyr*. 3.2.20, D.Chr. 35.19, Plu. fr. 193.34, Plot. 2.9.9.59. In *VA* there are two cases: 3.4.3 (p. 75.18) οὐδὲ πονήσαντες οὐδέν, and 6.10.6 (p. 189.12) καὶ πονήσεις οὐδέν. Therefore I have restored μηδέν in our passage. — In the TLG I have found one case of μηδὲ πον- in a similar context, namely J. *AJ* 9.14 καὶ πλήρη νεκρῶν ἰδὼν ἥσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, ὅτι μηδὲ πονήσασιν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς δι' αὑτοῦ τὴν νίκην ἔδωκεν; here too I think we should read μηδὲ⟨ν⟩ πονήσασιν.

5.35.1 (p. 170.13) Σιωπὴ μὲν **δὴ** ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένετο κτέ.

δὴ **E FQ** : οὖν **A**

This is one of those cases where one would gladly toss a coin in order to decide between the two transmitted readings. The collocation μὲν δή is much more frequent in Philostratus than μὲν οὖν but this can be used as an argument either way: follow the author's *usus* or accept the *lectio difficilior*. Still, I think that the evidence slightly favours μὲν δή. In other authors we find both μὲν δή and μὲν οὖν in similar contexts; for the former see e.g. X. *Cyr*. 8.4.12–13 ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο. Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Γωβρύαν ἐπήρετο κτέ; for the latter Lucianus *Tox*. 45 Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐγελάσθη ἐπὶ

τούτοις καὶ παρώφθη καὶ μεθύειν ἔδοξεν, ἔωθεν δὲ προκριθεὶς κτέ. A relevant passage in *VA* is found at 3.44 (p. 102.23–24) Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐγέλασαν οἱ σοφοὶ πάντες, καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ γέλωτος ἐπανῆγεν ὁ Ἰάρχας κτέ. This tilts the balance in favour of μὲν δή in our passage as well.

5.35.6 (p. 171.26) ὑπάτῳ δ' ἐνθυμουμένῳ καταλῦσαι τύραννον πρῶτον μὲν δεῖ βουλῆς πλείονος, ἵν' ἐξ **ἀσφαλοῦς** προσβαίη τοῖς πράγμασιν, εἶτ' ἐπιτηδείου σχήματος εἰς τὸ μὴ παρορκεῖν δοκεῖν.

ἀσφαλοῦς Jacobs$^{1/2/6}$: ἀφανοῦς **A E FQ**

Jacobs argues that ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς is required by the sequel, especially by the words οὐ γὰρ ἀχαρακώτους γε οὐδὲ ἀφράκτους χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν. I fully agree. Apollonius deals with the requirements which a general in revolt has to confront in chiastic order. He first explains how someone who wants to attack the emperor should deal with the possible reproach of perjury and then he goes on to tell how the attack must be prepared. In the latter part Apollonius does not say a word about secrecy but he insists on careful preparation which enhances the chances of success. For a parallel for ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς Jacobs refers to Hdn.Hist. 1.15.2 ἄνωθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀκοντίζων; further instances are found in Hdn.Hist. 1.12.8 τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἤδη βάλλοντος αὐτούς, and J. *BJ* 4.123 ἀλλ' ἥκειν πολεμήσοντες αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς.

5.36.1 (p. 172.17) καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "οὐ διδακτά **μοι**" ἔφη "ἐρωτᾷς."

μοι **E FQ** : με **A**

The dative of agent with διδακτά is a perfect answer to Vespasian's request to Apollonius to teach him the art of kingship. **A**'s με is an obvious simplification. Kayser's choice of με is another instance of his exaggerated preference for **A** (for which see note on 4.7.1 [p. 112.28]).

5.36.2 (p. 172.21) πλοῦτον ἡγοῦ μὴ τὸν ἀπόθετον (τί γὰρ βελτίων οὗτος τῆς ὁποθενδὴ συνενεχθείσης ψάμμου;) μηδὲ τὸν φοιτῶντα παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τὰς εἰσφορὰς **ὠλοφύραντο**.

ὠλοφύραντο **E FQ** : ὀλοφύρονται **A**

The aorist ὠλοφύραντο is definitely *lectio difficilior* here. Schmid 4.79 mentions only a few instances of the gnomic aorist in Philostratus but this one is to be added to the list.

5.36.2 (p. 172.21–22) κίβδηλος γὰρ ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ **μέλας**, ἢν ἐκ δακρύων ἥκῃ.

κίβδηλος **E FQ** Phot. (ci. Reiske^{1}) : κίβδηλον **A** ‖ μέλας **A E FQ** Phot. : μέλαν Kayser$^{1/2}$

We should read either -ος or -ον in both cases but not κίβδηλον and μέλας as **A** does. Kayser restores the balance by changing μέλας into μέλαν but here too I think he was led by his misplaced preference for **A**. Schmid lists a number of instances of a neuter predicate with a masculine or feminine subject in Dio Chrysostom (1.248) and Aelius Aristides (2.66) but not for Philostratus. The present passage may have escaped his attention but at any rate we can assume that the phenomenon, if it occurs at all in Philostratus, is so rare that it would be unwise to introduce it here by conjecture on the basis of **A**'s κίβδηλον.

5.36.4 (p. 173.19) ἀπελευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων, οὓς ἡ ἀρχή σοι δίδωσιν, ἀνέλωμεν τρυφὴν τοσούτῳ ταπεινότερον **αὐτοὺς ἐθίσαντες** φρονεῖν, ὅσῳ μείζονος δεσπότου εἰσίν.

αὐτοὺς ἐθίσαντες **E FQ** : ἐθίσαντες αὐτοὺς **A**

It is well known that forms of αὐτός in the *casus obliqui* behave like enclitics and therefore often occupy the Wackernagel position.[175] The question therefore is whether we should regard τοσούτῳ ταπεινότερον αὐτοὺς ἐθίσαντες φρονεῖν as just one constituent or as two constituents, τοσούτῳ ταπεινότερον and αὐτοὺς ἐθίσαντες φρονεῖν. In the first case αὐτοὺς ἐθίσαντες is preferable, in the second case we might opt for ἐθίσαντες αὐτούς. In this particular case there is another consideration, namely that τοσούτῳ ταπεινότερον is Focus in this clause and that αὐτούς has a tendency to come directly after a Focal constituent. Here are two instances of αὐτ- following a comparative (a comparative has *qualitate qua* Focus): X. *Mem.* 3.6.4 Ἆρ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ φίλου οἶκον εἰ αὐξῆσαι βούλοιο, πλουσιώτερον αὐτὸν ἐπιχειροίης ἂν ποιεῖν, J. *AJ* 10.203 Εἰσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δανίηλος παρῃτεῖτο πρῶτον μὴ σοφώτερον αὐτὸν δόξαι τῶν ἄλλων Χαλδαίων καὶ μάγων. All in all, αὐτοὺς ἐθίσαντες has the highest claim to authenticity.

5.36.5 (p. 173.24) ὅθεν **δὲ** τοῦτ' ἐνεθυμήθην, λέξω.

δὲ Reiske$^{1/2}$ (et Kayser^{1Apps} Kayser^{2T}) : δὴ **A E FQ**

In general ὅθεν δή means "and therefore", that is, it introduces a conclusion based on the preceding sentence; see for instance Hdt. 8.120 τὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα ἵδρυται πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἠιόνος, ὅθεν δή μίν φασι ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα. This is impossible here and therefore Reiske's conjecture (which was repeated by Kayser independently) must be accepted. The two particles are often confused in the mss. In *VA* see for instance 3.1.2 (p. 73.17) δὲ **E F** Phot.: δὴ **A**; 6.11.13 (p. 193.15) δὲ^{1} **A E FQ**: δὴ Eusebius.

175 See for instance Radt 2007, 119–120.

5.36.5 (p. 174.2–3) εἰ **δ' ἔτι καὶ** ἕτερόν τι ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔλθοι, πάλιν ξυνελευσόμεθα.

δ' ἔτι καὶ **A** : δὲ καὶ **E FQ**

Forms of ἕτερος are often accompanied by ἔτι. The reading of **E FQ** probably results from a wrong word division of ΔΕΤΙ, namely as δέ τι instead of δ' ἔτι.[176] With the reading δέ τι there are two τι's in the same clause which caused the exclusion of the first one. Therefore I accept **A**'s δ' ἔτι καί.

5.37.1 (p. 174.7) φιλοσοφίαν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ (τουτὶ γὰρ λοιπὸν **προσειρήσῃ**), τὴν μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίνει καὶ ἀσπάζου, τὴν δὲ θεοκλυτεῖν φάσκουσαν παραιτοῦ.

προσειρήσῃ scripsi praeeunte Cobet (προσειρήσει) : προσειρήσεται **A E FQ** : πρός ⟨σ'⟩ εἰρήσεται Radermacher

Until Cobet made his brilliant conjecture the passage was interpreted as "this is still left to be said", referring to what Euphrates says about philosophy. But προσλέγω in the sense of "say in addition" is very rare and in Philostratus λοιπόν always means "henceforward", "from now on". In the preceding discussion Vespasian was constantly addressed as βασιλεύς by Apollonius but not by Euphrates. By using the vocative here and underlining that this is the way Vespasian will be addressed from now on Euphrates makes clear that he has given up his resistance against Vespasian's decision to become emperor. As Cobet 1859, 132 explains, προσειρήσῃ comes from προσαγορεύω; he refers to 6.10.1 (p. 187.12) προσειπὼν οὖν καὶ προσρηθείς. Cobet writes προσειρήσει because he believes that -ει is the ending of the second person of the middle voice also used by the Atticists of the Second Sophistic. I have not followed Cobet in this respect. Cf. Schmid 4.26.

5.38.2 (p. 175.14) καὶ ὁ Δίων "Λασθένης" ἔφη "ἐστὶ μὲν ἐξ Ἀπαμείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Βιθυνῶν ἔθνει, ξυμφιλοσοφῶν δέ μοι χλαμύδος ἠράσθη καὶ **στρατιωτ⟨ικ⟩οῦ** βίου."

στρατιωτ⟨ικ⟩οῦ Cobet : στρατιώτου **A E FQ**

Cobet 1859, 133 states that the transmitted ζῆν στρατιώτου βίον means that someone leads the life of a soldier while not being a real soldier. He refers to 7.4.1 (p. 224.8) ἐπιθέσθαι Νέρωνι ψαλτρίας τινὸς ἢ αὐλητρίδος βίον ζῶντι. The life of real soldiers is indicated as στρατιωτικὸς βίος, so Cobet argues. He appears to be right. The only parallel for στρατιώτου βίος I have found is Lib. *Ep.* 803.2 ὅτι δὴ φύσιν Ἑρμῇ προσήκουσαν ἐνεβίβασας εἰς στρατιώτου βίον, where Libanius addresses the emperor Constantine, who cannot be supposed to lead the life of a common soldier. Therefore I have accepted Cobet's conjecture.

176 The Aldine edition has εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι; Morel has εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι, with the marginal addition of τι after δέ; Olearius has εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον, which is repeated in all later editions.

5.41.3–4 (p. 176.21–24) "**Διαβεβλημένος** οὕτω πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ὡς δουλοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας τί ἐμοῦ ξυνόντος δέῃ; ἔρρωσο." "**Νέρων** τοὺς Ἕλληνας παίζων ἠλευθέρωσε, σὺ δὲ αὐτοὺς σπουδάζων ἐδουλώσω. ἔρρωσο."

ante διαβεβλημένος add. τῷ αὐτῷ **A**^{txt} (voci sequenti διαβεβλημένος coniunctum) **F**^{1mg}**Q**^{1mg} *Ep.Ap.* : ἄλλη **E**^{3sl} ‖ ante νέρων add. τῷ αὐτῷ **F**^{1mg}**Q**^{1mg} *Ep.Ap.* : ἄλλη **E**^{3sl}

In all the editions the second and third letters sent by Apollonius to Vespasian are headed by τῷ αὐτῷ but these addresses do not belong in the text. In **F** and **Q** (and in **F**'s indirect apograph Laur.69.26, the source of the Aldine edition) the words are written in the margin and therefore they are to be regarded as glosses. At their first occurrence, before the second letter, the marginal gloss crept into the text in **A**, where it is integrated in the text, which gives the nonsensical τῷ αὐτῷ διαβεβλημένος οὕτω πρὸς Ἕλληνας κτέ. The fact that τῷ αὐτῷ is found in both places in *Ep.Ap.* does not indicate anything: in this collection the letters are presented without their accompanying context and therefore each letter must necessarily be headed by an address. The practice of heading a series of letters to the same addressee with τῷ αὐτῷ from the second letter on is seen everywhere in *Ep.Ap.*; see for instance letters 1–8 of the collection.

5.42.1 (p. 177.8) οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τῶν θυομένων αἷμα ἀνελιχμᾶτο, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ δερόμενά τε καὶ ῥαχιζόμενα τῶν ἱερείων **ἦττεν**, ἀλλὰ μελιττούταις διήγετο καὶ ἄρτοις κτέ.

ἦττεν **FQ** (ci. Morel Jacobs$^{1/2}$) : ἦγεν **A E** : ἤιεν Valckenaer^{2}

The reading of the archetype, ἦγεν, is impossible: it would mean that the attendant of the lion did not lead the animal to the sacrificial meat which would have been absurd anyway; and from a grammatical point of view the change of subject would be strange (ἀνελιχμᾶτο ⟨ὁ λέων⟩, ἦγεν ⟨ὁ ἀνήρ⟩, διήγετο ⟨ὁ λέων⟩). There are many places where it is probable that (a predecessor of) **FQ** made conjectures. This one belongs to his most felicitous interventions. It was repeated by Morel and Jacobs.

5.42.1 (p. 177.14) ἔστι τοίνυν Ἄμασις οὗτος, ὁ βασιλεὺς **Αἰγύπτου περὶ τὸν Σαΐτην νομόν**.

Αἰγύπτου ⟨τῆς⟩ περὶ τὸν Σαΐτην νομόν Reiske$^{1/2}$

Reiske's addition of ⟨τῆς⟩ should not be accepted: it means that Amasis was king only of the Saite district. In fact Amasis was king of all Egypt. The words περὶ τὸν Σαΐτην νομόν mean that Amasis resided in Sais, belonging to the 26th dynasty of pharaos which is called the Saite dynasty by Manetho (frr. 66–67).

5.43.2 (p. 178.10) εἰ πεπόνηται ὑμῖν ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ῥᾴθυμον μηδὲ ἀγεννὲς **εἴργασθε**, ἴτε θαρροῦντες, οἷς δὲ μὴ ὧδε ἤσκηται, χωρεῖτε οἷ βούλεσθε.

εἴργασθε **A E FQ** : εἴργασται **A**^{1sl}

In themselves, both readings are equally acceptable. Because Philostratus is fond of variation in coordinated expressions (see Schmid 4.524–525) I prefer εἴργασθε to εἴργασται, which corresponds to the preceding πεπόνηται and the following ἤσκηται. Once more, the supralinear reading in **A** may well be due to conjecture.

BOOK SIX

6.1.1 (p. 179.1) Αἰθιοπία δὲ **τῆς** μὲν ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ πάσης ἐπέχει τὸ ἑσπέριον κέρας, ὥσπερ Ἰνδοὶ τὸ πρὸς ἕω κτέ.

τῆς] γῆς Scaliger

The corruption of γῆς into τῆς can easily be explained as the result of confusion of τ and γ, which is a classical majuscule error. However, as KG 1.265–266 illustrate, ellipse of γῆ occurs frequently and therefore Scaliger's conjecture is unnecessary.

6.1.1 (p. 179.10) εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον Αἰθιοπίᾳ ξυμβάλοιμεν (τουτὶ δὲ ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πράττειν), οὔπω ξύμμετροι πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἄμφω **τοσαύτα ξυντεθείσα**.

τοσαύτα (dualis) Madvig : τοσαύτη **A E FQ** : τοσαύτῃ Aldina (Kayser[1/2]) : τοσαῦται Reiske[2] : om. Phot. ‖ ξυντεθείσα (dualis) Kayser[1/2] (et Madvig) : ξυντεθεῖσα **A E FQ** Phot.**M** : ξυντεθεῖσαι Phot.**A** (ci. Scaliger Reiske[1/2] Jacobs[3])

The general meaning of the passage is clear: Egypt and Ethiopia combined are smaller than India. The problem lies in the final two words of the sentence which are transmitted as τοσαύτη ξυντεθεῖσα in all the primary mss. The Aldine edition has τοσαύτῃ for τοσαύτη, and is followed by all subsequent editions.[177] The phrase is sometimes rendered as "compared to such a great country", for instance by Olearius ("si cum vasta adeo regione comparentur") and Westermann ("si cum tam vasta terra comparentur"). Jones and Mooij appear to take the phrase in a similar sense ("when set against so large a country", "wanneer je ze naast dat grote land legt"). But ξυντίθημι simply cannot mean "compare"; moreover the phrase would be completely tautological after οὔπω ξύμμετροι πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν. Others interpret the phrase as "taken together", e.g. Jacobs ("nach Hinzufügung einer so grossen Strecke") and Phillimore ("after this great addition"). I believe that this is the meaning we need here but it cannot be extracted from the transmitted text: the nominative singular τοσαύτη ξυντεθεῖσα preceded by the nominative plural ξύμμετροι and the nominative dual ἄμφω seems to be too harsh even for Philostratus. I therefore believe that the transmitted text must be corrected. Kayser paved the way by printing the dual ξυντεθείσα (in which he was followed by Conybeare but not by Jones, who may have regarded ξυντεθείσα as a printing error); Madvig finished the job by conjecturing the dual τοσαύτα. The result is a phrase consisting of three dual forms: ἄμφω τοσαύτα ξυντεθείσα, "both so big countries put together" or "both put together to form such a

177 Laur.69.26, the source of the Aldine edition, has τοσαύτη.

big country". Schmid 4.43–46 list a large number of dual forms in Philostratus. The switch from the plural ξύμμετροι to the dual τοσαύτα ξυντεθείσα is explained by the intervening pronoun ἄμφω.[178] The corruption of an original τοσαύτα ξυντεθείσα into τοσαύτη ξυντεθεῖσα is easy to explain. First the rare nominative dual ξυντεθείσα was taken as the nominative singular ξυντεθεῖσα; τοσαύτα, which may well have been misinterpreted as τοσαῦτα, then became incomprehensible and was accordingly changed into τοσαύτη.

6.1.1 (p. 179.13) ἐπιρραίνουσί τε γὰρ τὰς ἠπείρους ἐν ὥρᾳ ἔτους, ὁπότε γῆ ἐρᾷ τούτου, ποταμῶν τε παρέχονται μόνοι τὸν κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν ἵππον, λόγοι τε ὀργίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἴσοι· πολλὰ γὰρ **τῷ Ἰνδῷ** καὶ **Νείλῳ δὲ** ἐπιθειάζεται.

τῷ ἰνδῷ **A** : τῶν ἰνδῶν **E** (ἰνδὸν **E**^{ac1}) **FQ** ‖ νείλω δὲ **E FQ** : νείλω **A**

The fact that Philostratus draws the comparison between the rivers of Egypt and India is a strong argument in favour of **A**'s τῷ ἰνδῷ even if Apollonius will argue at length that the Egyptians took over many of their customs from the Indians.

The collocation καί ... δέ occurs frequently in Philostratus; see Schmid 4.556. Usually, it is found at the beginning of a new sentence or as a conjunction connecting two predicates but as Denniston 1954, 202 illustrates it can also be used at the end of an enumeration, as at Pl. *Tht*. 171e5–6 πᾶν γύναιον καὶ παιδίον, καὶ θηρίον δέ. A not quite similar parallel for the use in our passage is furnished by *VA* 8.7.39 (p. 277.13–15) Πυθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὧδε ἐγίνωσκεν οἵ τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παραπλησίως, καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ Ἰνδῶν οἱ σοφοί.

6.2.2 (p. 180.16) "οἱ δὲ χρηστοὶ" ἔφη "Ἕλληνες (...) οὔ φασι ζῆν, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα σκηπτόμενος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμων, ὁ δ' υἱὸν ἤδη τελοῦντα εἰς ἄνδρας, ὁ δ' ἐράνου πλήρωσιν, ὁ δ', ὡς οἰκοδομοῖτο οἰκίαν, ὁ δέ, ὡς αἰσχύνοιτο χρηματιστὴς **ἧττον** τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαι."

ἧττον **A** (ci. Reiske$^{1/2}$) : ἥττων **E FQ**

Reiske, who did not know the reading of **A**, conjectured ἧττον for ἥττων of the earlier editions. In his first set of notes he writes: "ἧττον. minus, quam pater, gnarus et sedulus in acquirendis opibus"; in the second set we read: "malim ἧττον (in neutro) minus, quam pater, gnarus videatur et minus sedulus opum corrogator". χρηματιστὴς ἥττων is "a worse man of business" (Conybeare), χρηματιστὴς ἧττον is "to a lesser degree a man of business". According to LSJ s.v. ἥσσων III the neuter ἧττον can be used with adjectives. Because the line between nouns and adjectives is blurred in Greek I think that Reiske is right in claiming that χρηματιστὴς ἧττον is a possible collocation, although I have not found a parallel for this use. Another possibility is to take ἧττον with the infinitive δόξαι, as Donald Mastronarde has pointed out to me. ἧττον is definitely *lectio difficilior* in comparison with ἥττων and therefore I have decided to accept it.

178 For the incongruent juxtaposition of the plural and the dual in Philostratus see Schmid 4.46–47.

6.2.2 (p. 180.16) καλῶς δ' **ἂν** εἶχεν, **ἵνα** πλοῦτος ἀτίμως ἔπραττεν ἰσότης τε ἤνθει κτέ.

ἂν **A E FQ** : ἄρ' Kayser[1/2] ‖ ἵνα **A** : ἣν **FQ** : om. **E**

Apollonius' concluding remarks explicitly evoke life in the Golden Age, as appears from the free quotation of Hes. *Op.* 151 μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος. With the transmitted ἄν this situation is represented as an *irrealis*, which in fact is an unfulfillable wish; with Kayser's conjecture ἄρ' it is a conclusion or at any rate a logical consequence of what was stated in the preceding sentence. The first alternative appears to be preferable.

Kayser does not explain his motives for conjecturing ἄρ' but I suppose that he felt uneasy about ἵνα; he probably took it as "in the world in which". Copyists too appear to have had problems with ἵνα: it is found in **A** exclusively; **FQ** have ἣν and **E** omits it altogether. Schmid 4.183, referring to our passage, states that this is the only passage in Philostratus "an welcher man ἵνα allenfalls mit "wo" übersetzen könnte; aber auch hier ist ἵνα wohl eher Infinitivparaphrase oder gar = εἰ (Sophocles greek lex. p. 599. nr. 14)." I agree with Schmid's analysis.

6.3.1 (p. 181.3) ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν Ναύκρατιν (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο) περὶ Μέμφιν διητᾶτο, καὶ ναῦν δὲ **†ἤδη ἄτοπον†** ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἐναυκλήρει ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ.

ἤδη ἄτοπον **A E FQ** : ἤδη Suda : ἤδη ἄτοκον Scaliger : ἤδη ἄκατον Bentley : ἤδη ἀκάτιον Valckenaer[2] : ἤδη ἐντόπιον vel ἤδη οἷαι αἱ κατὰ τὸν τόπον aut ἤδη ἄκωπον Reiske[1] : ἤδη ἄκωπον Reiske[2] : ἤδη ἀπόστολον Ruhnkenius : ἤδη ποτάμιον Toup[2] : ἤδη ἔντοπον Boissonade[1] : ἤδη δίκροτον Piccolos : ἰδιόστολον Kayser[1App] (vide et Kayser[1N]) Kayser[2T] : ἤδη ἀπορῶν Miller : "alii alia : verum etiamnunc latet" Schenkl[1], cui assentior

There is no lack of conjectures for the obviously corrupt reading of the mss. ἤδη ἄτοπον. With the exception of Kayser all scholars accept ἤδη, which is quite out of place in combination with ἄτοπον, as Kayser rightly notes. Kayser ingeniously proposes ἰδιόστολον. He argues that ἤδη is a corruption of the homophonous ἰδι; once this corruption had occurred the remaining ηδηοστολον didn't make sense which led to the nonsensical ἤδη ἄτοπον, which has at least the merit of looking like Greek. The word ἰδιόστολος occurs in 5.20.1 (p. 159.6), also with regard to a ship, as is the case in its few other occurrences in Greek literature. However, the mention of the fact that the ship is private property is quite irrelevant here. In the few other occurrences furnished by the TLG the word is always contrasted, implicitly or explicitly, with ships belonging to others, e.g. to the state. And therefore I don't accept Kayser's conjecture, ingenious though it may be.

I refrain from discussing all the other proposed conjectures. ἄκατον (Bentley) or rather ἀκάτιον (Valckenaer; ἀκάτιον occurs twice elsewhere in Philostratus) is never used in apposition to ναῦς, as would be the case here. Miller's ἤδη ἀπορῶν stays close to the transmitted text and succeeds in giving sense to ἤδη but the paradox ἤδη ἀπορῶν ἐκέκτητο is hard to swallow. I agree with Schenkl that the true solution has not yet been found and therefore I have printed the transmitted text with daggers.

6.3.2 (p. 181.5) ἰδὼν οὖν ἀναπλέοντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καταπλέων αὐτὸς ξυνῆκέ τε, ὡς ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν εἴη τὸ πλήρωμα, **ξυμβαλλόμενος** τοῖς τρίβωσι καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις, οἷς προσεσπούδαζον κτέ.

ξυμβαλλόμενος **E FQ** : ξυμβαλόμενος **A**

Once more, there is variation in the mss. The aorist participle ξυμβαλόμενος might be regarded as coincidental with the main verb ξυνῆκε. In favour of the present participle ξυμβαλλόμενος it might be argued that the participle refers to the consideration which induced Timasion to reach his conclusion. In favour of the latter Arjan Nijk has drawn my attention to the opening of Thucydides' *Histories* (1.1.1): Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὁρῶν ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους. Here the conclusion, expressed by the aorist participle ἐλπίσας, results from the observations expressed by the present participle τεκμαιρόμενος. By the same token we should accept the present ξυμβαλλόμενος in our passage.

6.3.3 (p. 182.1) ταυτὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰάρχᾳ δοκεῖ τῷ θείῳ. **ἀλλ' ὅπως** ταῦτα δοξάζεις, κἀξ ὅτου;

ἀλλ' ὅπως **A E FQ** : ἀλλὰ πῶς Westermann : ἀλλ' ⟨εἰπὲ⟩ ὅπως Kayser^{1N} Kayser^{2T}

In Classical Attic direct questions cannot be introduced by indirect interrogative pronouns or adverbs; see KG 2.517. But in later Greek there are several instances of this use; see Schmid 4.73. Therefore neither Kayser's addition of εἰπέ nor Westermann's conjecture ἀλλὰ πῶς is necessary.

6.3.4 (p. 182.4) ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρξαμένου λέγειν, ὡς ἡ μητρυιὰ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὸν φέροιτο, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐρώσῃ ἐκσταίη, βοὴ ἐγένετο ὡς δαιμονίως αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προειπόντος, **ὑπολαβὼν δὲ** ὁ Τιμασίων "ὦ λῷστοι," ἔφη "τί πεπόνθατε; κτέ."

ὑπολαβὼν δὲ **A** Suda: ὑπολαβὼν **E FQ**

Strictly speaking δέ is superfluous here, because the main clause starts with ὑπολαβών. In Philostratus, apodotic δέ is found after relative clauses and after participles; see Schmid 4.550. Schmid lists cases of apodotic δέ after ἐπεί-clauses for Dio (1.183), Lucian (1.425) and Aristides (2.304). In our passage, its presence is justified by the very complex protasis of which ἐπεὶ βοὴ ἐγένετο constitutes the core, surrounded by the absolute genitives, the first of which is accompanied by an object clause.

6.3.5 (p. 182.9) καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ὁσημέραι γε· πολλὴν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὴν θεὸν **⟨ἐν⟩ ἀνθρωπείοις** τε καὶ θείοις πράγμασιν."

⟨ἐν⟩ ἀνθρωπείοις Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}

As Cobet 1859, 133 points out, the sentence πολλὴν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὴν θεὸν ⟨ἐν⟩ ἀνθρωπείοις τε καὶ θείοις πράγμασιν is an adaptation of E. *Hipp.* 1–2 πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι κοὐκ ἀνώνυμος | θεὰ κέκλημαι Κύπρις, οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω. Cobet states that Philostratus' phrase would hardly be understandable if one does not have the Euripidean passage in mind, and indeed the use of πολύς in the sense "important" is rare; see LSJ s.v. I.2.b and Barrett's note on E. *Hipp.* 1. The parallel between the Euripidean original and Philostratus' adaptation is not quite exact because in Euripides ἐν belongs to mortals while in Philostratus it belongs to mortal affairs but even so I agree with Kayser and Cobet that ἐν is indispensable here. Omission of ἐν may have been facilitated by the fact that the two surrounding syllables also end in a *ny*: θεὸν ⟨ἐν⟩ ἀνθρωπείοις.

6.4.1 (p. 183.9) οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ μακροβιώτατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν, ὀλοφύρονται τὸν Μέμνονα ὡς κομιδῇ νέον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἀώρῳ κλαίουσι, τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἵδρυται, φασὶ μὲν προσοικέναι ἀγορᾷ ἀρχαίᾳ, οἷαι **{τῶν ἀγορῶν}** ἐν πόλεσί ποτε οἰκηθείσαις λείπονται στηλῶν παρεχόμεναι τρύφη καὶ τειχῶν ἴχνη καὶ θάκους καὶ φλιὰς ἑρμῶν τε ἀγάλματα, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειρῶν διεφθορότα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ χρόνου.

τῶν ἀγορῶν delevi

The genitive τῶν ἀγορῶν is clumsy after the relative οἷαι. I regard it as a gloss, intended to make clear that the plural relative pronoun οἷαι refers to the singular antecedent ἀγορᾷ ἀρχαίᾳ, which in itself is unproblematic; see KG 1.55. What is stated there, applies perfectly to our passage: "Das Substantiv, auf welches das Relativ bezogen wird, steht in der Singularform, das Relativ aber in der Pluralform, wenn dasselbe nicht auf ein bestimmtes Individuum der Gattung, sondern auf die ganze Gattung bezogen wird und auf diese Weise die Bedeutung von οἷος (wie X. Comm. 2.1,15 ὧν καὶ τοιοῦτος, οἵοις — ἐπιτίθενται) annimmt." It is telling that in most translations τῶν ἀγορῶν is not expressed.

6.5.1 (p. 184.3) (...) κελεύουσι δ' οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν νόμοι τὸν φεύγοντα ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ (**δεῖν** δὲ φεύγειν) ἐπὶ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς εἶναι κτέ.

δεῖ{ν} Reiske^{2} (et Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T})

Reiske's conjecture, which was also made independently by Kayser, gives a much smoother text but I think that the transmitted δεῖν is authentic, expressing the content of the laws in Memphis; that is, the infinitive δεῖν is loosely dependent on κελεύουσι.

6.5.2 (p. 184.13) θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων "πῶς" ἔφη "λέγεις;" **"ὥς γε," εἶπεν "ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ πέπρακται."**

ὥς γε (γε etiam Par.1696^{2pc} Reiske^{2}) εἶπεν ὦ μειράκιον καὶ πέπρακται Kayser^{2} : ὥς τε εἶπε τὸ μειράκιον τί πέπρακται **A E FQ** : ὡς τὸ μειράκιον καλόν τι πέπρακε aut ὡς τῷ μειρακίῳ καλόν τι πέπρακται Reiske^{1} : ὥς γ' εἰ, εἶπε, τὸ μειράκιον καλόν τι πέπρακται Reiske^{2} : ὡς γ' εἶπον (sic), ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ πέπρακται aut ὥς γε» εἶπεν «ὦ μειράκιον, διαπέπρακται Westermann^{Adn} : ὥς γε εἶπε τῷ μειρακίῳ τι πέπρακται Kayser^{1App}

This is another vexed passage, containing a number of problems. To start with, the change of τε into γε, found in Par.1696^{2pc}, is supported by the fact that there are three more passages in *VA* where a πῶς question is followed by an answer starting with ὥς γε: 3.19.1 (p. 85.21–22), 4.44.3 (p. 143.24), 6.19.1 (p. 202.9).

The change of the transmitted article τό into the interjection ὦ, suggested by Westermann, is strengthened by the observation that Timasion is designated as μειράκιον six times in chapters 3–5 of book six. The word cannot possibly refer to the involuntary murderer who is a man (ἀνδρί, the first word of this chapter).

What remains to be dealt with is τί, which cannot possibly be correct. Westermann suggested both καὶ πέπρακται and διαπέπρακται. The first of these appears to be most attractive, the particle stressing the identity of words (λέγεις) and deeds (πέπρακται).

6.5.2 (p. 184.19) καὶ ποῦ σοφόν, ὃν στεφανοῦν χρῆν, εἰ καὶ προνοήσας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον **ἀκουσίου καὶ** ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν **εἰργασμένου** μὴ καθῆραι;

ἀκουσίου **E FQ** : ἀκουσίου φόνου **A** ‖ καὶ **A** : μὲν **E FQ** : om. Par.1696^{pc} ‖ εἰργασμένου **A E** : δ' εἰργασμένου **FQ**

I have already discussed this passage in Boter 2009, 52–53. I then argued that **A** should be followed with regard to the presence of φόνου after ἀκουσίου but I now no longer believe that this is correct. Earlier in this chapter (p. 184.3) we find the phrase ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ to which φόνῳ should be supplied mentally (it is actually present in **E**). Therefore I now regard the presence of φόνου in **A** as a simplification.

The real choice is between **A**'s καί and the particle combination μέν – δέ which we find in the editions. Now δ' is only present in one of the two branches of the second family[179] which makes one suspect that it is due to deliberate interpolation, introduced in order to match μέν. The other solution is to omit μέν, as was seen by the corrector of Par.1696. The problematic situation in the second family leads to the conclusion that **A**'s καί is authentic. It not only explains the *paradosis* but it is also superior in itself. As I wrote in my 2009 article: "μέν...δ' implies a contrast between the two elements: 'a murder, which, though being involuntary, has been committed on their behalf'. Such a contrast would be relevant if ἑκουσίου would stand in the position of ἀκουσίου: 'a murder, which, though being voluntary, has been committed on their behalf'."

179 Headlam's ἀκουσίου μὲν φόνου for ἀκουσίου καί is based on the presence of δ' in the editions.

6.5.3 (p. 185.1) ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐπιδράσας ὅσα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὑπὲρ καθαρσίων νομίζουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν **καταστείχειν** ὡς καθαρὸν ἤδη τῆς αἰτίας.

καταστείχειν **A E FQ** : ⟨ἐς ἤθη⟩ {κατα}στείχειν Kayser[2] : ἀποστείχειν Cobet

Kayser replaces the transmitted καταστείχειν by ἐς ἤθη στείχειν because of the phrase χωρεῖν ἐς ἤθη earlier in this chapter (p. 184.4). Cobet 1859, 134 argues that καταστείχειν "prorsus est a loci sententia alienum" without adding his motives for this judgement. According to LSJ s.v. καταστείχειν the verb can have the specific meaning "*return from exile*",[180] which is exactly the meaning we need here. Therefore the transmitted text should not be tampered with.[181]

6.7 (p. 185.16) Ἐνταῦθά τι ἀναγράφει Δάμις Εὐφράτου ἔργον, ἡγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ μειρακιῶδες, **ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμότερον** τοῦ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσήκοντος.

ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμότερον **A E F**[ac1] : ἀλλ' ἀφιλοτιμότερον **F**[1pc]**Q**

Whatever reading we choose, it is certain that the qualification is meant to be negative. Olearius argues in favour of ἀφιλοτιμότερον because in 3.15.1 (p. 81.21) Philostratus "φιλότιμον de generosa & mascula indole usurpet" and therefore "Oppositum itaque ἀφιλότιμον hic exprobratur Euphrati". This argument won't do because in reality φιλότιμον is not used in a positive sense at all in 3.15.1 (p. 81.21–22), where we read τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον τοῦτο παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, which Olearius rightly translates as "hoc enim ambitionis genus aversari viros". Philostratus uses the word both in a positive way (e.g. *VA* 3.32.1 [p. 96.19] ὅπως φιλότιμοί τε καὶ χρηστοί εἰσι) and in a negative way (e.g. *Her*. 26.8 [p. 32.13 De Lannoy] εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι μᾶλλον οἴει ἔργον φιλότιμόν τε καὶ νεανικὸν εἰργασμένος). Here Euphrates' behaviour must be seen in the light of the quarrel that arose during their meeting in Alexandria (for which see *VA* 5.27–38). This favours the reading φιλοτιμότερον, "more ambitious than befits a philosopher". Moreover, according to LSJ s.v. I.2 the word ἀφιλότιμος, when said of people, means "*lacking in ambition*" and not "disgraceful" (Jones) or "discreditable" (Phillimore).

6.8 (p. 186.1) ἐκέλευε δὲ ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἥκων καὶ **καταλύ{σ}ειν** αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ κτέ.

καταλύ{σ}ειν Reiske[1] (et Kayser[2T]) : καταλύσειν **A FQ** : καταλύσσειν **E** : καταλῦσαι Scaliger (et Kayser[1App])

180 Apart from *IG* 2[2].1113.12 see e.g. Sopat.Rh. 5.94.28 Walz πολλούς τις καταστείχοντας ἀναιρεῖ φυγάδας, 5.100.25, 5.106.3, 5.203.4. See also Syrian. *in Hermog*. 169.10 Rabe etcetera.

181 Jones conflates the conjectures by Kayser and Cobet, printing ἐς ἤθη ἀποστείχειν, which he wrongly attributes to Cobet.

The future infinitive after ἐκέλευε is impossible. Because in Philostratus the present infinitive with κελεύειν is much more frequent that the aorist infinitive I have adopted Reiske's καταλύειν.

6.9.1 (p. 186.11–12) "τῦφον," ἔφη "ὦ ἑταῖρε, ὃν οὔπω πρότερον περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδον δὶς ἤδη ἀφικόμενος."

τῦφον ἔφη ὦ ἑταῖρε ὃν scripsi : ἔφη ὦ ἑταῖρε τῦφον ὃν **A E FQ** : ἔφη ὦ ἑταῖρε. τῦφον; ὃν Kayser$^{1/2}$: ἔφη ὦ ἑταῖρε τῦφον {ὃν} ἔγωγε Jacobs^{1} : ἔφη ὦ ἑταῖρε τῦφον {ὃν} Jacobs^{6} : ἔφη ὦ ἑταῖρε τῦφον εἶπεν Westermann^{Adn} : ὦ ἑταῖρε τῦφον ἔφη ὃν Olearius

In the transmitted text there are a number of irregularities which taken together lead to the conclusion that the text is corrupt. In the first place the repeated *inquit* formula at the end of the interlocutor's preceding speech (p. 186.9–11) is unparalleled, although we do find repeated *inquit* formulas shortly after the beginning of a speech: see notes on 4.25.3 (p. 128.4) and 2.27.1 (p. 60.14). What is more, I have not found a parallel for a repeated vocative at the very end of a speech. In the third place, there is no *inquit* formula when Timasion starts his answer; again, this occurs very rarely (see note on 3.31.1 [p. 95.8]). All problems disappear when we transpose τῦφον before ἔφη ὦ ἑταῖρε. Timasion's answer then should be taken as: "A kind of insolence, indeed", he said, "my friend, which I have not seen before etc." The omission of τῦφον is easily explained as the result of haplography. The word must then have been added, possibly in an apograph, above the line or in the margin and then was introduced in the text at the wrong place.

6.9.1 (p. 186.15) πρώην γοῦν, πεντήκοντα τοῦτ' ἴσως ἡμέραι, Θρασύβουλος μὲν ἐπεχωρίαζεν ἐνταῦθα λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ πράττων, οἱ δ' ἄσμενοι αὐτὸν ἀπεδέξαντο, ἐπειδὴ **προσέγραφεν** ἑαυτὸν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ.

προσέγραφεν **A E FQ** : προσέγραψεν Marc.XI.29 Par.1696

The use of the verb προσγράφω ἑαυτόν in this passage falls under LSJ s.v. I.2: "*add to a list* of persons*, enrol, register*", for which indeed the aorist is regular. In this passage, however, the word is used in a metaphorical sense, "to side with". Therefore, the transmitted imperfect is excellent and Kayser shouldn't have adopted the aorist found in Marc.XI.29 and Par.1696 (which derive from **E**).

6.10.1 (p. 187.13) "ἐνταῦθα" ἔφη ὁ **Θεσπεσίων** δείξας τὸ ἄλσος.

θεσπεσίων **A F**^{ac}**Q** Cyr.Alex.**GκMEF** : θεσπίων **E F**^{pc} Cyr.Alex.**V**

The proper name Θεσπεσίων is nowhere attested outside *VA* with the exception of Phot. "codex" 241 (334a15–16) who quotes a short phrase from *VA*,[182] and Cyrillus of Alexandria, who refers to a few short passages from *VA* and once mentions the name of the leader of the Naked Men.[183] Θεσπίων too is not found outside *VA* either.[184] There are 31 occurrences of the name Θεσπ(εσ)ίων in *VA*. In the first five occurrences the primary mss. are divided between θεσπίων and θεσπεσίων.[185] From the sixth occurrence on all primary mss. have θεσπίων, with the exception of 6.20.7 (p. 205.20) where **E** has θεσπεσίων.[186]

Cyrillus of Alexandria mentions the name once (*Contra Iulianum* 3.22.7); the form Θεσπίων is found in **V** (Marcianus gr. 122 [coll. 295]), which is one of the two representatives of the first family; the other branch of the first family, consisting of **G** (Scorialensis Ω.II.13 [gr. 530]) and **ϰ** (Capnioneus deperditus), and the three representatives of the second family (**M** [Marcianus gr. 123 (coll. 296)], **E** [Scorialensis Ω.III.5 (gr. 538)] and **F** [Scorialensis Ψ.III.12 (gr. 467)] have Θεσπεσίων.[187] Because Cyrillus quotes a passage from 6.10 I assume that he read the name of the leader of the Naked Men as it occurs in this chapter, where the name is found for the first time in *VA*. The discrepancies in the primary witnesses of *VA* are mirrored in the variant forms of the name in the transmission of Cyrillus' *Contra Iulianum*.

I find it very difficult to make a choice. On the one hand the primary mss. have θεσπίων almost everywhere. On the other hand the testimony of Cyrillus is of primary importance. As a rule of thumb one might suppose that it is more likely that some letters dropped out than that letters were added. I would be happy to print Θεσπ(εσ)ίων everywhere but this is obviously impossible. All in all I think it is safest to accept the longer form of the name and to print Θεσπεσίων.

If Θεσπεσίων is indeed what Philostratus wrote, what happened to the form of the name in the transmission? I assume that in the first five occurrences the archetype had

182 6.13.4 (p. 198.16) διαπραῦνων δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Θεσπεσίων.

183 3.22.7–8 Εἶτά φησι τὸν τῶν ὅλων προεστηκότα — Θεσπεσίων οὗτος ἦν — πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰπεῖν αὐταῖς οὕτω φωναῖς.

184 As Donald Mastronarde has pointed out to me, the name Θεσπέσιος is found in Lib. *Ep.* 1032 and *ISinope* 150; Θεσπεσίαναξ occurs in *IG* XII,1 46. For names more or less similar to Θεσπίων, such as Θεσπίας, Θεσπιεύς, Θέσπιος, Θέσπις, Θέσπων, see the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (digitally accessible at http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/name# [accessed 21 February 2023]).

185 P. 187.13 θεσπεσίων **A** F^{ac}**Q** Cyr.Alex.**GϰMEF** : θεσπίων **E** F^{pc} Cyr.Alex.**V**; p. 187.14 θεσπεσίων **A** F^{ac}**Q** : θεσπίων **E** F^{pc}; p. 187.17 θεσπεσίωνα **FQ** : θεσπίωνα **A E**; p. 189.23 θεσπεσίωνα **A** F^{ac} : θεσπίωνα **E** F^{pc}**Q**; p. 190.3 θεσπεσίωνος **A F** : θεσπίωνος **E Q**.

186 Kayser, who prints the form Θεσπεσίων everywhere, gives only scarce information on the subject in the apparatus of his first edition. Up to p. 195.14 he records the form Θεσπίων; at p. 196.21 he reports "Θεσπίωνα f (ut semper)". For the other occurrences in book 6 he only reports p. 198.16 "διαπραΰνων αὐτὸν ὁ Θεσπίων *Φ*A (= Photius)" and p. 203.19 "Θεσπίων *π* (= **A**)". On the first occurrence in book 7, p. 233.4, he reports "Θεσπίων f ut alibi".

187 For information on the mss. of *Contra Iulianum* see the edition by Riedweg and Kinzig 2016, XI-LXIII; the *stemma codicum* is found on p. LXIII.

both forms; the case of p. 190.3 suggests that the lost common source of **E** and **FQ** too had both forms, witness the fact that **F** has θεσπεσίωνος (with **A**) while **Q** has θεσπίωνος (with **E**). It is impossible to tell with certainty who is responsible for the erasure of εσ in **F** at p. 187.13, 187.14 and 189.23; the fact that the derivatives of **F** have θεσπεσίων in these places seems to indicate that εσ was not erased by the scribe himself. The decision to erase εσ must have been based on the observation that further on in the text the form θεσπίων occurred everywhere; it is remarkable that the corrector forgot to do so at p. 187.17. Once the short form θεσπίων was first introduced in the archetype it persisted in the rest of the work; then one or more scribes apparently went back to the first five occurrences to "correct" the longer form θεσπεσίων to θεσπίων in order to arrive at a consistent form of the name.

The form θεσπεσίων is found on all occurrences in the editions. This results from the fact that Lugd.73D and Laur.CS.155 have this form everywhere. Laur. plut.69.26, which derives from Laur.CS.155, is the source of the Aldine edition.

6.10.6 (p. 189.16) (...) ὡς χαμευνεῖν μὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ προσήκει, γυμνὸν δὲ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς μοχθοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, ὃ δὲ μὴ πονήσαντί σοι ἀφίκετο, μήτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε ἡδύ, μηδὲ ἀλαζόνα εἶναι μηδὲ τύφου θηρατήν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὀνειράτων **ὄψεως**, **ὁπόσα** ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αἴρουσιν.

ὄψεως Madvig : ὄψεις **A E FQ** ‖ ὁπόσα **A E FQ** : ὁπόσαι Kayser[2]

Because ἀπέχομαι is construed with the genitive the transmitted ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὀνειράτων ὄψεις can only mean "that visions abstain from dreams" which is nonsense. Madvig's ὄψεως is an easy and convincing solution. For the combination ὀνειράτων ὄψις see for instance Aristid. p. 359.20 Jebb and Paus. 8.42.7. The corruption of ὄψεως to ὄψεις was probably caused by wrongly construing the preceding genitive ὀνειράτων as dependent on ἀπέχεσθαι. Kayser does not mention his reading ὁπόσαι in the critical notes; the transmitted ὁπόσα is perfectly right, belonging to ὀνειράτων.

6.10.6 (p. 189.17–18) εἰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα αἱροῖο καὶ δόξῃ ἀδαμαντίνῃ χρῷο μὴ ἀτιμάζων **ἀλήθειαν**, μηδὲ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν **εὐτέλειαν** παραιτούμενος πολλοὺς μὲν ἡρηκέναι φήσεις λέοντας κτέ.

ἀλήθειαν Kayser[1App/N] Kayser[2T] : εὐτέλειαν **A E FQ** ‖ εὐτέλειαν **A E FQ** : εὐγένειαν Jacobs[6]

The mss. have εὐτέλειαν twice which must be due to *Echoschreibung*. But which of the two words was corrupted and what was the original reading? Jacobs argued that the second εὐτέλειαν should be replaced by εὐγένειαν;[188] but παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν εὐγένειαν seems to be a strange combination whereas παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν εὐτέλειαν is perfectly possible. Kayser defends his conjecture ἀλήθειαν for the first εὐτέλειαν by referring to 6.10.3 (p. 188.11) θαυ-

188 Kayser[1] in his note (p. 191) wrongly states that Jacobs wished to change the first εὐτέλειαν.

μασιουργίας τε καὶ βιαίου τέχνης μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀλήθειαν and 6.10.4 (p. 188.22–23) εὐτέλεια γὰρ διδάσκαλος μὲν σοφίας, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἀληθείας; moreover, he refers to the phrase μὴ τιμῶν ἀλήθειαν in *Her.* 7.8 (p. 7.23–24 De Lannoy). I am convinced by Kayser's parallels.

6.11.5 (p. 191.5) εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις εἰς ἥθη τὰ ἐμά, τράπεζα μὲν ὁπόση ἐμψύχων, **ἀνῃρῆσθαι πᾶσαν**, οἶνου δὲ ἐκλελῆσθαι καὶ τὸν σοφίας μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν κρατῆρα κτέ.

ἀνῃρῆσθαι πᾶσαν] ἀνῃρῆσθαι πᾶσαν ἔλοιτο Par.1696^{2sl} : ἀνῃρῆσθαι πᾶσαν ⟨ἂν⟩ ἔλοιτο Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : ἀνῃρῆσθαι ⟨δεῖ⟩ πᾶσαν Reiske^{1} : ⟨φημὶ⟩ ἀνῃρῆσθαι πᾶσαν Reiske^{2}

The addition of ἔλοιτο in Par.1696^{2sl} is an obvious conjecture; the addition of ἄν is due to Kayser. But there is no need to add a predicate. The three infinitives ἀνῃρῆσθαι, ἐκλελῆσθαι and μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν must be understood as *infinitivi pro imperativo*. See note on 1.41.2 (p. 39.17).

6.11.6 (p. 191.11) ἃ δ' **ἔστι** σοι καρτερήσαντι ταῦτα, ἐμοῦ μάθε.

ἔστι **A E**: ἔσται **FQ**^{1pc} (ἐστί **Q**^{ac})

Given the fact that further on in this sentence the future tense is used (δώσω, ἐμπλήσω) the future ἔσται might seem to be attractive. However, there are two possible explanations for the present here. In the first place, Schmid 4.75 mentions two more passages in *VA* where we find the present instead of the future: *VA* 2.40.2 (p. 71.7) and 3.32.1 (p. 96.19–20).[189] In the second place, we might interpret the present as "what lies in store for you". See also KG 1.138: "Ferner wird das Präsens mit rhetorischem Nachdruck namentlich im Nachsatze hypothetischer Perioden futurisch gebraucht." In our passage the conditional participle καρτερήσαντι is equivalent to a hypothetical protasis.

6.11.7 (p. 191.21–22) ἐφιλοσόφησα γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως τῆς τέχνης καὶ ὁπόθεν αὐτῆς αἱ ἀρχαί, καί μοι ἔδοξεν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι περιττῶν τὰ θεῖα ψυχήν τε ἄριστα **ἐσκεμμένων**, ἧς τὸ ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ **ἀγένητον** πηγαὶ γενέσεως.

ἐσκεμμένων] ἐπεσκεμμένων Phot. : ἠσκημένων Koen (et Cobet): ἠσκημένην Reiske^{1} ‖ ἀγένητον **A** : ἀγέννητον **E FQ**

Cobet 1859, 134 (who unknowingly repeats Koen's conjecture which in its turn was anticipated by Reiske) argues that the participle ἐσκεμμένων would rather suit an orator who is "well prepared" when he steps forward to speak. But I don't see why the word could not refer to philosophers who have studied the essence of the soul and have come to the conclusion that the soul stems from the uncreated and the immortal, which is in

189 Schmid also quotes *VS* 2.1.4.2 (p. 57.25 Kayser = p. 62.14–15 Stefec) ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῇ πόλει ἐπιδίδωσι (for which Cobet conjectures ἐπιδώσει). However, in the new OCT by Rudolf Stefec ἐπιδίδωσι is omitted because it is only found in one branch of the first family of manuscripts.

full accordance with the Pythagorean view of the soul. Therefore the transmitted ἐσκεμμένων should be kept.

According to the TLG the number of occurrences of ἀγέννητος equals that of ἀγένητος: 3,486 against 3,527. My choice for **A**'s ἀγένητον is based on the observation that it stands in nice contrast to the immediately following γενέσεως. Further, ἀγένητον is "*uncreated, unoriginated*" (LSJ s.v. I). ἀγέννητον is "unbegotten"; the derivation from γεννάω makes clear that there must be a "begetter". ἀγένητον, from γίγνεσθαι, makes clear that it has no beginning in time and space, just as ἀθάνατον indicates that it has no end in time and space.

6.11.8 (p. 192.1) Ἀθηναίοις μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ προσήκων ἐφαίνετό μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος· τὸν γὰρ Πλάτωνος λόγον, ὃν θεσπεσίως **ἐκεῖ** καὶ πανσόφως ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀνεφθέγξατο, αὐτοὶ διέβαλον κτέ.

ἐκεῖ **E FQ** : ἐκεῖνος **A**

In itself, ἐκεῖνος is possible, preparing the contrasting αὐτοί. However, ἐκεῖ is *lectio difficilior*, because the name of the city of Athens is to be inferred from the mention of the Athenians and because in the sequel Apollonius is looking for a city where all people share the same opinion on the immortality of the soul.

6.11.8 (p. 192.3) ἔδει δὲ σκοπεῖν, τίς μὲν πόλις, ποίων δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἔθνος, παρ' οἷς οὐχ **ὁ μέν τις, ὁ δὲ οὔ**, πᾶσα δὲ ἡλικία ταὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς φθέγγοιτο.

ὁ μέν τις, ὁ δὲ οὔ **A E FQ** : ὁ μὲν τὸ ὁ δὲ τό Cobet

The transmitted ὁ μέν τις, ὁ δὲ οὔ contrasts with πᾶσα ἡλικία; Cobet's conjecture ὁ μὲν τὸ ὁ δὲ τό with ταὐτόν. Both are equally possible and there is no need to accept Cobet's conjecture. For the phrase itself compare Lib. *Or*. 45.10 τουτὶ δὲ ὁ μέν τις ἐδυνήθη, ὁ δ' οὔ.

6.11.11 (p. 193.2) ὁ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν **φθέγγοιτο**, ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην ὡς προσφυᾶ τῷ μεγαλείῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ πόδα κτέ.

φθέγγοιτο del. Jones

The removal of φθέγγοιτο, suggested by Jones, results in two symmetrical phrases: Aeschylus considers himself to be worthy of writing tragedy and he considers the art appropriate to the sublime. However, Schmid 4.115–116 remarks that the coordination of syntactically different constituents is a distinguishing feature of Philostratus' style (see also Schmid 4.524–526). What is more, I believe that φθέγγοιτο cannot be dispensed with. If it is left out, there are two motives for Aeschylus to invent masks etcetera: the fact that he is worthy of creating tragedy and the fact that the art of tragedy requires

the high style. But what has "believing himself to be someone worthy to write tragedy" (Jones) to do with inventing costumes for tragedy? With the transmitted φθέγγοιτο Aeschylus' contribution to the art of tragedy is twofold: he made a number of adjustments, such as reducing the part of the chorus, and he developed an apparatus for the staging of tragedy in the form of costumes. The first contribution is subsumed with the words ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν φθέγγοιτο, "sich selbst bedenkend, wie er eine der Tragödie würdige Sprache spräche" (Jacobs), and it looks back to what had been said about Aeschylus' improvements with regard to the content and diction of tragedy.[190] The phrase ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην ὡς προσφυᾶ τῷ μεγαλείῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ πόδα looks forward to the invention of costumes etcetera. This means that once Aeschylus had emended the style and diction of the poetry of tragedy he turned to the physical apparatus of the performances. According to Apollonius, the first set of ameliorations might also have been invented by a less gifted tragedian; Aeschylus' unique contribution lies in his introducing of masks and so on. So there is a clear distinction between the wording and the staging of tragedy. The latter is indicated with the word τέχνη, which does not refer to the genre of tragedy as such but specifically to the "technical" aspects of the performances of tragedy, in this case the costumes of the actors. And thus I believe that φθέγγοιτο must be kept.

6.11.13 (p. 193.21) σοφίας δὲ ταύτης ἐγένεσθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ ξύμβουλοι χρόνον, ὃν τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἐπῃνεῖτε, Ἰνδοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον **{πάλαι}** ὄντες.

πάλαι del. Cobet

Schmid 4.523–524 remarks that the accumulation of synonyms, which is characteristic of such authors as Aristides and Philo, is only found rarely in Philostratus. Schmid lists eleven instances. Our passage is the only one without a connective particle and therefore I believe that Cobet 1859, 134 is right in assuming that πάλαι is a gloss on τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

6.11.15 (p. 194.19) (...) ὁ δ', οἶμαι, μικρὰ ταῦτα ἡγούμενος καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἥττω καὶ ἄλλου ἐδεήθη νεὼ καὶ ἄλλου καὶ μεγάλων ἤδη καὶ ἑκατομπέδων, ἑνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς ἴυγγας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ **ἐπηχούσας** πειθώ κτέ.

ἐπηχούσας Lobeck^2 : ἐπεχούσας **A E** : ἐπεχούσης **FQ**

The ἴυγγες, "wrynecks", were already mentioned in 1.25.3 (p. 28.8) as decoration on a building. In the transmitted text they are said to "possess" the persuasiveness of the Sirens but the value of the preverb ἐπ- is unclear. Normally ἐπέχω means "*hold upon, hold out to/towards*" (LSJ s.v. I–III). In the description of Apollo's temple in Delphi in Pi.

190 This appears to be preferable to Phillimore's rendering "how should he make his language adequate for a tragical grand style" in which a supposed deliberative subjunctive φθέγγωμαι is turned into the oblique optative φθέγγοιτο.

Pae. fr. 52i.71 we read χρύσεαι δ' ἐξ ὑπὲρ αἰετοῦ ἄειδον Κηληδόνες. Pausanias 10.5.12, who quotes these words, compares the birds to the Sirens. This fits in well with our passage. The verb ἄειδον in Pindar is picked up nicely by ἐπηχούσας and therefore I have accepted Lobeck's conjecture. In the scholium to Pi. *N.* 4.56a, in Photius ι 273 and in Suda ι 759 (= Call. fr. 685) it is stated that the ἴυγξ is a daughter of Echo or Peitho.

6.12.1 (p. 197.2) (...) Θεσπεσίωνι δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος λῆρον τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἡγεῖται, μὴ ἂν **ἐπαντλῆσαι** τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν λόγους.

ἐπαντλήσαι⟨μι⟩ Bentley (et Reiske[1/2] Boissonade[1])

Bentley's ἐπαντλήσαι⟨μι⟩ would be the perfect counterpart of βασκήναιμι but the negation μή is ill at place in combination with the potential optative. Schmid 4.91 mentions only one passage in Philostratus in which μή is used in a declarative sentence, as would be the case here with the reading ἐπαντλήσαιμι: *VA* 2.11.1 (p. 47.7) καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ ἡ μάστιξ σοφοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἱππέως. In addition to this passage there are eight more occurrences of the collocation μὴ ἄν in Philostratus; seven of these accompany an aorist infinitive, as in our passage, one an aorist participle. For the transition from direct speech into indirect speech Kayser[1] in his note (p. 192) refers to *VS* 2.31.89.2 (p. 132.1–4 Stefec) καὶ ὁ Φιλόστρατος "ἐγώ σε" εἶπεν "ἐθαύμαζον ἄν, εἰ ζῶντος κατηγόρησας". εἶναι γὰρ δὴ τὸ μὲν ζῶντα τύραννον ἐπικόπτειν ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ ἐπεμβαίνειν κειμένῳ παντός. See also Schmid 4.116. In *VA* 3.38.3 (p. 100.9–11) we find the reverse: ἤρετο οὖν ὁ σοφὸς πάλιν, εἰ πλησίον εἴη ὁ παῖς, ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρᾶξαι, "ὁ δ' ἀπειλεῖ κρημνοὺς καὶ βάραθρα καὶ ἀποκτενεῖν μοι τὸν υἱόν, εἰ δικαζοίμην αὐτῷ δεῦρο."

6.13.2 (p. 198.9) (...) αὐτοί τε μᾶλλον ἔνοχοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ἃς ἐφ' ἑτέρων ἀληθεῖς **ἠγοῦντο**.

ἠγοῦντο **E FQ** : ἠγοῦνται **A**

The imperfect ἠγοῦντο comes unexpectedly within a series of present forms but it is quite possible. KG 1.145–146 discuss the imperfect which seemingly stands in the place of the present, referring to such cases as Hom. *Od.* 3.291–292 ἔνθα διατμήξας τὰς μὲν Κρήτῃ ἐπέλασσεν, | ἦχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.[191] In such cases the speaker focuses on the moment in which the characters perceived something ("embedded focalization"). Similarly, in our passage Apollonius focuses on the moment in the future when someone who had previously believed in slandering others will become liable to be slandered himself. The present ἠγοῦνται in **A**, then, is a simplification.

191 For a full discussion of the phenomenon see Huitink 2019.

6.13.4 (p. 198.18–20) πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς, **εἰπέ**, τίς διαλλάξει με; χρὴ γάρ που καταψευσθέντα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ **ψεύδους**." "ἐχέτω οὕτως" ἦ δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "καὶ σπουδῆς ἀπτώμεθα· τουτὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς διαλλάξει μᾶλλον."

εἰπέ scripsi : εἶπὲ (sic) **A** : εἶπε **E FQ** ‖ post ψεύδους lacunam statuit Kayser[2]

Kayser[2], in his critical note, states that Thespesion's answer has fallen out ("excidit responsum Thespesionis"). This implies that he assigns the sentence πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς – ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους to Apollonius but in his text he continues the speech of Thespesion.[192] Conybeare and Mooij follow Kayser in postulating a lacuna and indeed they attribute the sentence πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς – ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους to Apollonius. But it is very unsatisfactory to make Apollonius say about himself that being the victim of lies he must be angry: this is not in accordance with his status as a philosopher. These words are better attributed to Thespesion, who states that he can well imagine that Apollonius must be angry for having been the victim of lies. Apollonius' reaction, "let it be", perfectly suits the philosopher.[193] The conversation is then a contest of politeness: Thespesion offers his apologies by suggesting that Apollonius must be angry for being wronged and Apollonius silently accepts the apologies by stating that discussing serious matters is the best way of reaching reconciliation.

All the editions read "πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς" εἶπε "τίς διαλλάξει με κτέ", with either Apollonius or Thespesion as the subject of εἶπε. If the whole sentence is assigned to Thespesion there is a repeated *inquit* formula if we accept the transmitted εἶπε. Now this is not unique. A parallel is furnished by 2.40.2 (p. 71.5–12): ἐσιώπησε μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δὲ Δάμις "οὔπω συνίησιν," ἔφη "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἀποδημίας ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος (...). ἂν γὰρ ὀκλάσωσιν ἐν ἐρήμῳ που τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἡμεῖς μὲν" ἔφη "καθεδούμεθα τοὺς γῦπάς τε καὶ τοὺς λύκους ἀποσοβοῦντες τῶν καμήλων, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀποσοβήσει· προσαπολούμεθα γάρ." As in the passage under discussion the repeated *inquit* formula comes after a personal pronoun. Another possibility is to read the imperative εἰπέ instead of εἶπε for which we may compare 6.16.5 (p. 201.3–4) εἰ δὲ κἀκείνους ἐς τουτὶ μεταβιβάζοιμι καὶ γιγνοίμην αὐτοῖς ξύμβουλος ὧν ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα, τί ἄν, εἰπέ μοι, θρασὺ πράττοιμι; In fact **A** has both accents, the grave accent on the final syllable being placed to the right of the epsilon; this is comparable to **A**'s δόκεῖ at 5.31 (p. 167.8). To my mind the imperative εἰπέ increases the sense of urgency and therefore I have printed it.

Jones attributes the words ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους to Apollonius, translating "As for the slander, let that be" but I doubt whether the preposition ὑπέρ is appropriate in combination with οὕτως ἐχέτω.

192 Maybe Kayser intended to indicate the change of speaker between σοφοῖς and πρός by means of quotation marks but forgot to do so. The text is identical in both editions by Kayser.

193 Kayser[1], in his note to the passage, renders ἐχέτω οὕτως as "Simus, quod tu cupis, placato animo inter nos".

6.15 (p. 199.10) "ἡδὺ" εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "ἐπάγεις, ὦ νεανία, ξένιον σεαυτόν τε καὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἦθος, ὃς ἀδόλως μὲν **φιλ⟨οσοφ⟩οῦντι** ἔοικας, ἀσπαζομένῳ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Πυθαγόρου."

φιλ⟨οσοφ⟩οῦντι Kayser[1/2] : φιλοῦντι **A E FQ**

For the conjecture φιλοσοφοῦντι Kayser refers to 5.21.1 (p. 160.6–7) ἄνδρα φιλοσοφοῦντα ὑγιῶς τε καὶ ἀδόλως. The phrase ἀδόλως φιλοσοφεῖν is first found in Pl. *Phdr.* 249a1–2 and recurs a number of times in later authors. I accept Kayser's ingenious conjecture. The corruption into φιλοῦντι may have been caused by mental association with *ἀσπαζομένῳ*.

6.16.1 (p. 199.23–200.2) "οἶμαι," ἔφη "εἰ δ' αἰτία ἑλομένου **ἔστ{α}ι** τις, τάχα καὶ μὴ ἑλομένου αἰτία, καὶ ἁλώσονται μᾶλλον ἅπερ **ἐγὼ ἑλόμενοι**. τὸ γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ σοφωτέρους ὄντας μὴ πάλαι ᾐρῆσθαι, ἅπερ ἐγὼ νῦν, δικαίαν αἰτίαν κατ' ἐκείνων ἔχοι ἂν μᾶλλον οὕτω **πλεονεκτοῦντας μὴ** ἐς τὸ βέλτιον ἐλέσθαι, ὅ τι χρήσονται."

ἔστ{α}ι scripsi ‖ ἐγὼ ⟨μὴ⟩ ἑλόμενοι Vat.1016 Crac.VIII.16.2 (ci. Reiske[1], ⟨μὴ⟩ vel ⟨οὐχ⟩ Reiske[2]) ‖ πλεονεκτοῦντας Olearius : πλεονεκτοῦντι **A E FQ** : πλεονεκτοῦντες Vat.1016 Crac.VIII.16.2 : "locum hunc non expedio" Reiske[2] ‖ μὴ **A E FQ** : μοι Scaliger

This is a vexed passage. We should start with Apollonius' remark that the Gymnosophists will probably reproach Nilus for having made the choice for the doctrine of the Indians too hastily and without having studied it profoundly. Nilus answers that he thinks Apollonius is right in believing that this is likely to happen and then he goes on to defend himself against this accusation. By means of the phrase αἰτία ἑλομένου Nilus refers to the choice of new lives in the Myth of Er in Plato's *Republic* 617e4–5. The very fact that this is a reference to a well-known concept and not an inference on what may happen in the future shows that the future tense ἔσται must be due to corruption of an original present ἔστι. The thought then is: "If (as we know from Plato) there is the onus of responsibility by the one who makes a choice, there will probably also be the onus of responsibility by the one who does not make a choice." The corruption of the present to the future is probably due to the fact that there are two future forms before our phrase (ἕξειν and ἀφήσεις) and one after it (ἁλώσονται).

So Nilus claims that not choosing can also be open to accusation. Those who wish to add a negation to ἑλόμενοι turn Nilus' argument into a simple *tu quoque*, which is rather weak and which misses the point raised by Apollonius, namely that according to the Gymnosophists Nilus has made his choice too hastily. In the transmitted text the accusation against the Gymnosophists is that, once they have made their choice, they will be censured for having made the choice so late in life. Being older and wiser than Nilus they should already have made the choice long ago but in reality Nilus has been much quicker to perceive the value of the philosophy of the Indians than the Gymnosophists will have done. This implies that Nilus takes it for granted that in the end the Gymnos-

ophists will be converted too.[194] The reproach lies in the words μὴ πάλαι which stand in contrast to ἐγὼ νῦν. And thus there is no need to add a negation to ἑλόμενοι.

The next problem concerns the transmitted πλεονεκτοῦντι, which cannot be saved, even with Scaliger's μοι for the homophonous μή: it is impossible to construe the rest of the sentence satisfactorily with πλεονεκτοῦντι μοι. For πλεονεκτοῦντι Vat.1016 and Crac. VIII.16.2 have πλεονεκτοῦντες while Olearius conjectures πλεονεκτοῦντας. Both the nominative and the accusative, while being syntactically irregular, refer to the Gymnosophists; if taken this way, the verb must refer to the advantage of the Gymnosophists over Nilus in being older and wiser. The accusative is preferable because the transition from a genitive or dative to an accusative followed by an infinitive occurs regularly. However, it remains hard to understand how an original πλεονεκτοῦντας came to be corrupted into πλεονεκτοῦντι.

6.16.2 (p. 200.3–6) "οὐκ ἀγεννῆ μέν, ὦ νεανίσκε, λόγον εἴρηκας· ὅρα **δὲ μὴ {δ'} αὐτῷ τῷ** οὕτω μὲν σοφίας, οὕτω δὲ ἡλικίας ἔχειν ἐκεῖνά γε ὀρθῶς ἠρημένοι **φαίνονται** ταῦτά τε ξὺν εἰκότι λόγῳ παραιτούμενοι, σύ τε θρασυτέρου λόγου **δοκῇς** ἅπτεσθαι καθιστὰς μᾶλλον **ἢ αὐτὸς** ἐκείνοις ἑπόμενος."

δὲ μὴ {δ'} Jacobs[3] : δὲ μὴ δ' **A E F**[1pc]**Q** : δ[***] δ' **F**[2ac1] ‖ *αὐτῷ τῷ* **FQ** : αὐτὸ τὸ **A E** ‖ *φαίνωνται* **F** ‖ δοκῇς] fortasse legendum δοκεῖς ‖ ἢ αὐτὸς **A E FQ** : αὐτὸς ἢ Kayser[2]

Although the general meaning of this sentence is clear it creates a lot of problems. Jacobs' deletion of δ' after ὅρα δὲ μή is inescapable. Next, the archetype must have had αὐτὸ τό, which cannot be construed; therefore αὐτῷ τῷ, probably a conjecture in **FQ**, must be accepted.

It is puzzling to find first an indicative and then a subjunctive after ὅρα δὲ μή. Both are possible: see KG 2.390–396. KG 2.395 note that in E. *Ph.* 92–95 the indicative is followed by a subjunctive: ἐπίσχες, ὡς ἂν προυξερευνήσω στίβον, | μή τις πολιτῶν ἐν τρίβῳ φαντάζεται, | κἀμοὶ μὲν ἔλθῃ φαῦλος ὡς δούλῳ ψόγος, | σοὶ δ' ὡς ἀνάσσῃ, which they render as "ob nicht sich ... zeigt, u. dass nicht mir daraus Tadel erwachse". Something comparable might be the case here: Apollonius points out that after all it can become clear that the Gymnosophists have made the right choice long ago and that at this very moment Nilus should beware of appearing to make the wrong choice. And thus I have accepted the anomalous combination of indicative and subjunctive.

Finally, Kayser's transposition of ἢ αὐτός to αὐτὸς ἢ does not seem to be convincing to me. The collocation μᾶλλον ἤ is so fixed that it hardly tolerates intruders. The TLG gives 114 hits for μᾶλλον ἤ in Philostratus; the only case of a splitter between μᾶλλον and ἤ in *VA* is 2.36.2 (p. 68.4) ἄλλοσέ ποι μᾶλλον εἶναι ἢ οὗπέρ εἰσιν δοκοῦσιν. Moreover, in the transmitted word order the contrast between αὐτός and ἐκείνοις is more prominent.

194 In chapter 16 Nilus states that he will try to persuade the Gymnosophists to make the same choice as he has done; in chapter 17 Apollonius makes him promise that he will abstain from attempting to do this.

6.19.2 (p. 202.13) "οὐ μόνον" ἔφη "ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν μὲν παρὰ τοῖς **Ἕλλησι** ἀγαλματοποιίαν ἅπτεσθαί φημι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ὑμᾶς δὲ καταγελᾶν τοῦ θείου μᾶλλον ἢ νομίζειν αὐτό."

Ἕλλησι Jacobs[6] : ἄλλοις **A E FQ**

Thespesion has scornfully mentioned a number of famous Greek statues of gods, to which Apollonius answers that he is not only thinking of these statues but of the sculpture of "the others" (παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις) in general. This is strange: why would Apollonius make a remark on statues of gods among other people? Jacobs, in a note to his German translation, remarks: "Ich vermuthe, daß es παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν geheißen habe, da Apollonius nicht von allen andern Völkern, sondern nur von den Hellenen darthun will, daß sie die Götter auf die würdigste Weise darstellen." I find this convincing. Moreover, Thespesion reacts by mentioning "sculptors such as Phidias and Praxiteles", which shows that he too is thinking of Greek sculpture.

6.19.4 (p. 203.12–13) ἦν γάρ που νεὼς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξοικοδομῆσαι καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ὁρίζειν ἃ χρὴ θύειν καὶ ἃ μὴ χρὴ καὶ ὁπηνίκα καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ὅ τι λέγοντας ἢ δρῶντας, ἄγαλμα δὲ μὴ ἐσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ εἴδη τῶν θεῶν καταλείπειν τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσφοιτῶσιν **⟨ἀναγράφειν⟩**. ἀναγράφει γάρ τι ἡ γνώμη καὶ ἀνατυποῦται δημιουργίας κρεῖττον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀφῄρησθε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι **καλοὺς** καὶ τὸ ὑπονοεῖσθαι.

⟨ἀναγράφειν⟩ ἀναγράφει Jacobs[3/6] ‖ καλοὺς Cobet: καλῶς **A E FQ**

Jacobs states that the infinitive καταλείπειν leaves the phrase unfinished and he appears to be right in claiming that an epexegetic infinitive is missing. It is telling that in a number of translations an equivalent of such an infinitive is supplied, e.g. "sed Deorum effigies illis relinquere [sibi fingendas]" (Olearius, similarly Westermann), "laissant ceux qui les fréquentent libres de se les figurer sous telle ou telle forme" (Chassang), "it would have been left to the devout visitors to imagine the likeness" (Phillimore), "leaving it to those who frequented the temples to imagine the images of the gods" (Conybeare), "sondern [man] könnte es den Tempelbesuchern überlassen sich ein Bild von den Göttern zu machen" (Mumprecht). As the text stands the reader is required to mentally supply an infinitive on the basis of the following clause, which is unparalleled. The most plausible candidate for such an infinitive is Jacobs' ἀναγράφειν which may easily have fallen out due to haplography;[195] Jacobs' translation runs "(...) sondern [man] konnte es Denen, welche die Tempel besuchen, überlassen, sich die Gestalten der Götter auszumalen".

Cobet 1859, 135 points out that ὁρᾶται καλός is equivalent to καλός ἐστιν ἰδεῖν. He quotes 4.16.2 (p. 119.1–2) δεινός τε ὁρώμενος οὐκ ἐξηλλάττετο τοῦ φαιδροῦ in support of his conjecture in the present passage.

195 Cf. the addition of βασιλέα by Scaliger and Jacobs at 2.21.1 (p. 55.28), where see the note.

6.20.1 (p. 203.22) "τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε," εἶπεν "ὦ Θεσπεσίων, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ **ἐλεύθεροί** τε καὶ εὐδόκιμοι."

ἐλεύθεροί **A E FQ** : ἐλευθέρ⟨ι⟩οι (sic) Kayser[2]

Kayser's conjecture was probably triggered by ἐλευθεριώτατοι some lines below (p. 204.6) but the context is different. Further on the meaning "free-spirited" is needed but here Apollonius speaks about free citizens in opposition to the slaves about whom Thespesion inquires immediately after. I therefore keep the transmitted ἐλεύθεροί.

6.20.2 (p. 204.2–3) "εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνονται" ἔφη "οἱ χρηστοὶ Ἕλληνες εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ποτε **ἄρξαντας** ὁρῶντες μαστιγουμένους ἐς τὸ κοινόν, **ἢ ἀρχθέντες ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, οἳ μαστιγοῦνται δημοσίᾳ**;"

ἄρξαντας Par.1696[1sl] : ἄρξοντας **A E FQ** ‖ ἢ – δημοσίᾳ ut scholium del. Reiske[1]

The transmitted future participle ἄρξοντας can only be saved when we assume that the ephebes whom the Greeks actually see being flogged will be the future rulers of Greece, which is impossible, especially because the second part of the sentence must refer to the past, more specifically to the period of the Spartan hegemony over Greece about 400 BC, as appears from the aorist participle ἀρχθέντες. Therefore the correction into ἄρξαντας, which was added above the line in Par.1696, must be accepted.

At first sight both parts of the sentence express exactly the same thought and this induced Reiske to delete the second part (ἢ – δημοσίᾳ) as a gloss. But although the content of both parts is similar, the focus is not. In the first part the focus is on the Spartan rulers who get flogged, in the second part it is on the Greeks themselves who were ruled by people who get flogged in public.

6.20.2 (p. 204.7) "ἅ γε" εἶπε "δυνατὸν διορθοῦσθαι, ξυνεβούλευον μὲν ἐγώ, προθύμως δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔπραττον· ἐλευθεριώτατοι μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰσί, **μόνον** δ' ὑπήκοοι τοῦ εὖ ξυμβουλεύοντος."

μόνον scripsi : μόνοι **A E FQ** : μόνου Conybeare[196]

The transmitted μόνοι means that the Spartans are the only ones to listen to good advice, which is nonsensical: in *VA* there are many instances of cities who follow Apollonius' recommendations. Some translators give μόνοι a meaning which it does not have, e.g. "ausgezeichnet folgsam gegen guten Rath" (Jacobs), "uniquely submissive to good advice" (Jones). To my mind, μόνοι is a corruption of an authentic μόνον (or μόνου), as a result of *Echoschreibung* of the immediately following ὑπήκοοι. The phrase μόνον/μόνου δ' ὑπήκοοι τοῦ εὖ ξυμβουλεύοντος nuances the preceding statement that they are the most

196 After completing my edition, I noticed that μόνου, which I had suggested in the critical apparatus as a less attractive alternative to μόνον, had actually been conjectured by Conybeare.

free-spirited of all Greeks: they can only be induced to change their behaviour when they are given really good advice.[197]

The choice is between μόνον and μόνου; the latter was conjectured by Conybeare, who translates: "but at the same time they will only listen to one who gives them good advice". I have decided for μόνον because Philostratus seems to have a predilection for the adverb μόνον in phrases like this.

6.21.2 (p. 206.10) "ξυνέθεντο δ'" ἦ δ' ὁ Θεσπεσίων "**δικαιοσύνην** Ἰνδοὶ ταῦτα;"

δικαιοσύνην **A E** : δικαιοσύνην εἶναι **FQ**

Schmid 4.106–110 gives numerous instances of ellipse of many types of words in Philostratus. Finite forms of εἶναι are very frequently omitted. For the omission of the infinitive εἶναι Schmid mentions *VS* 2.27.78.2 (p. 122.20–21 Stefec) καὶ τάφος μὲν αὐτῷ Λυκία λέγεται, and *Gymn.* 30 (p. 277.5–7 Kayser = p. 156.25–27 Jüthner) βαρέα ... τὰ σπλάγχνα, ὥστε καὶ ἀμβλὺ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πνεῦμα (where Kayser adds εἶναι before πνεῦμα). Therefore I assume that the addition of εἶναι is a conscious attempt at improving the text.

6.21.3 (p. 206.16) "πῶς οὖν, ὦ Θεσπεσίων," εἶπε "στεφανώσομεν τὸν δίκαιον, ἢ τί πράττοντα;" "**⟨ἀν⟩ελλιπέστερον**" ἔφη "καὶ προσφορώτερον ἂν ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐσπουδάσατε ἢ ὁπότε βασιλεὺς τοσῆσδέ τε καὶ οὕτως εὐδαίμονος χώρας ἄρχων ἐπέστη φιλοσοφοῦσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλεύειν, δικαιοτάτου κτήματος;"

⟨ἀν⟩ελλιπέστερον Kayser^{1C} Kayser^{2T} : ἐλλιπέστερον **A E Q** : ἐλλειπέστερον **F** : ἐλλιπαρέστερον aut ἐμμελέστερον Reiske^{1} : εἰλικρινέστερον vel ἐμμελέστερον vel ἐλλιπαρέστερον Reiske^{2} : ⟨...⟩ ἐλλιπέστερον Jacobs^{6}

The general sense of Thespesion's rhetorical question is clear: Apollonius should have discussed the matter of justice with the Indian king. Therefore two positive adjectives are needed at the beginning of the question. Kayser's ⟨ἀν⟩ελλιπέστερον is the best candidate. The omission of the initial ⟨ἀν⟩ may result from misinterpreting it as the particle ἄν. However, it is possible that Jacobs is right in assuming that there is a greater lacuna.

6.21.3 (p. 206.23) ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ **ὑμῖν**, ἰχνευτέα ἡ δικαιοσύνη μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀτεχνῶς δίκαιον.

ὑμῖν **A** : ἡμῖν **E FQ**

197 Some translators, while reading μόνοι in the Greek text, translate as if the text actually has μόνον or μόνου, for instance "nec alii parent nisi qui bene consuluerit" (Olearius, similarly Westermann), "en luisteren alleen naar iemand die hun goede raad geeft" (Mooij).

In the mss. ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς are often confused, a corruption which is partly caused by the fact that in the Byzantine period the two pronouns are homophonous. The main argument for choosing ὑμῖν here is that in this way Apollonius creates a contrast between the Indian king on the one hand and the Gymnosophists on the other: the first was not a suitable interlocutor for a discussion on justice whereas the Gymnosophists are. Apollonius adds that in general the Gymnosophists are better interlocutors for such a discussion than kings and generals. In this way he politely refutes Thespesion's reproach that he had not discussed the issue with the Indian King. Apart from itacism, the change of ὑμῖν into ἡμῖν may also have been caused by the following first person plural ἴωμεν.

6.21.5 (p. 207.22) "εἰ οὖν" ἔφη "δύ' Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγοὶ γενοίσθην ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς συμμαχίδος ἥκοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν γράφοι στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πλουτῶν ἀφῖκται μηδὲ βίον ἑαυτῷ **ξυνειλοχὼς** μηδένα, ἀλλὰ πενέστατος μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πενέστερος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δ' αὖ τοιουτονί τι γράφοι ψήφισμα κτέ."

ξυνειλοχὼς Kayser$^{1/2}$: ξυνειληχὼς **A E FQ**

The transmitted ξυνειληχώς comes from ξυλλαγχάνω, for which LSJ s.v. give "*to be joined by lot with*" as the only meaning. Lampe's Patristic Greek Lexicon also gives the meaning "*become possessed of*"; these meanings will not do in the present passage. The verb is used in this sense in a number of passages in Basil, John Chrysostom and later Christian authors. In Philostratus, ξυνειλοχώς, the perfect active participle of ξυλλέγω, is also found in 7.35 (p. 251.5). The collocation βίον συλλέγειν occurs a number of times in Greek literature, e.g. E. *El.* 81, fr. 286.14, Pl. *Lg.* 936c3. For πλοῦτον συλλέγειν see for instance Paus. 4.36.3, Lib. *Decl.* 5.1.43. All in all, the evidence strongly favours the acceptance of Kayser's conjecture.

6.21.5 (p. 207.26) ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστείδης οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸ δυνατὸν τῶν ξυμμάχων τάξας τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔκαστοι γῆς ἔχουσι, τῆς τε ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἐπεμελήθη τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀχθομένους **{δοκεῖν}** φέρειν ταῦτα, δεδόχθω στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ.

δοκεῖν om. Morel praeeunte Rinuccino qui hanc vocem non vertit

In the fictitious decree in honour of Aristides it is stated that he cared for the allies' concord with the Athenians and for their paying their tributes without grief. The transmitted δοκεῖν appears to be quite out of place: what is the sense of "and that they would seem (*or* believe) to pay their tribute without grief"? Morel omits δοκεῖν without stating anything about this omission. He reproduces Rinuccino's translation: "effecitque ut non dolenter illa perferrent". I therefore suspect that Morel omitted δοκεῖν on the basis of Rinuccino's translation. In fact, δοκεῖν goes untranslated in all translations I have consulted with the exception of Jones, who has "so that they do not seem to chafe under their burdens".

I believe that Rinuccino and Morel are right in omitting the word and I assume that its interpolation is due to anticipation of the immediately following δεδόχθω.

6.22.1 (p. 208.15) Φιλοσοφήσαντες δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἴη, καὶ περὶ φύσεως παραπλήσια ταῖς Πλάτωνος **ἐν Τιμαίῳ** δόξαις, περί τε τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι νόμων πλείω διαλεχθέντες κτέ.

ἐν Τιμαίῳ del. Kayser[1/2]

Kayser deletes ἐν Τιμαίῳ because he believes it to be a gloss. This is possible but I have found two parallels for the transmitted phrase: Poll. 3.133 πονηρὰ δὲ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἐν Φιλήβῳ δυσχεράσματα, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.7.52.1 τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐν Πολιτείᾳ. *In dubio abstine*: I have kept the words in the text.

6.23 (p. 209.8) ἡ δὲ ἠχὼ τοῦ ῥεύματος καταρρηγνυμένου τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ ψόφῳ ἅμα ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐκπίπτοντος χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὴ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πρόσω τοῦ μετρίου **προελθόντων** ἀνέζευξαν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ ἀκούειν.

προελθόντων Reiske[1] : προελθόντες **A FQ** Phot.**A** : ἐλθόντες **E** : προσελθόντες Phot.**M** : προσελθόντων Jones

προελθόντες cannot possibly be construed after the genitive article τῶν; it is the result of *Echoschreibung* caused by the immediately following ἀποβαλόντες. In itself Jones' προσελθόντων is possible but the support for προσελθ- is very weak; moreover, προελθόντων is supported by προελθόντες in 6.26.1 (p. 210.7).

6.25 (p. 209.22) Ἐνταῦθα νομάδες οἰκοῦσιν Αἰθίοπες ἐφ' ἁμαξῶν πεπολισμένοι, καὶ πλησίον τούτων οἱ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας θηρῶντες, κατακόπτοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται **βοράν**, ὅθεν ἐπώνυμοί εἰσι τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων **βρώσεως**.

βοράν Cobet : ἀγοράν **A E FQ** Phot. ‖ βρώσεως **A E FQ** Phot. : πράσεως Kayser[2]

The practice of the elephant eaters, Ἐλεφαντοφάγοι, is described at length in Str. 16.4.10. Both Cobet and Kayser are dissatisfied with the etymology offered by the transmitted text and rightly so. Cobet changes ἀγοράν into βοράν, Kayser reads πράσεως for βρώσεως. Cobet's βοράν suits the etymology of the Ἐλεφαντοφάγοι best and therefore I have accepted it.

6.26.1 (p. 210.10) ψοφοδεᾶ γὰρ φύσει ὄντα προσοικεῖν τοῖς **γαληνοῖς ὕδασι** μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ῥαγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνήχοις.

γαληνοῖς ὕδασι **E FQ** Phot. : γαληνοῖς **A**

I have not found parallels for τὰ γαληνά, τὰ ῥαγδαῖα or τὰ ἤνηχα without a noun such as ὕδατα or νάματα.[198] Therefore I accept ὕδασι although it cannot be excluded with certainty that the word was interpolated deliberately, exactly because of the unique substantivated use of τοῖς γαληνοῖς.

6.27.3 (p. 212.1) καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἠγεῖτο τοῖς κωμήταις ἐς Νυμφῶν ἄντρον, πλέθρον οὔπω ἀπέχον τῆς κώμης, ἐν ᾧ καθεύδοντα δείξας αὐτὸν **ἀπέχεσθαι** εἶπε τοῦ παίειν ἢ λοιδορεῖσθαί οἱ.

ἀπέχεσθαι **FQ** : ἀπέχεσθε **A E**

The archetype had the imperative ἀπέχεσθε, as appears from the fact that this is the reading of **A** and **E**. With ἀπέχεσθε the sentence is in direct speech: "Refrain from beating or insulting him". The problem with this reading is the pronoun οἱ. Schmid 4.15 gives numerous instances of passages where οἱ is used as a demonstrative pronoun but it always refers to someone who has already been mentioned before by the same speaker, such as in 7.8.2 (p. 226.4) βαδίσαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναί οἱ καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθὼ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πᾶν ὅ τι ἐγώ. The satyr is indicated by αὐτόν but with the reading ἀπέχεσθε the word αὐτόν is part of the narrator text while οἱ is part of the character text. Although Philostratus permits himself considerable liberty this appears to be unacceptable. I assume that the scribe of **FQ** realized this and accordingly conjectured ἀπέχεσθαι. The corruption may partly be due to the fact that the two forms are homophonous.

6.30.1 (p. 213.6) Ἀναρρηθεὶς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἀριστείων ἀξιωθεὶς τούτων ἀπῄει μὲν ἰσομοιρήσων τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνθυμηθείς, ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιος αὑτῷ ἔσται κἂν πρὸς βραχὺ ξυγγενόμενος, ἐδεῖτο **αὐτῷ ἐς Ταρσοὺς** ἥκειν κτέ.

αὐτῷ **A E** : αὐτοῦ **FQ** ‖ ἐς Τάρσους Cobet : ἐπ' ἄργους **A E FQ**

All the editions follow **FQ** in reading αὐτοῦ. The reading of the archetype, αὐτῷ, can be taken as *dativus commodi*, "to come to Tarsus on his behalf", which gives more weight to the phrase. For ἥκω with the dative see for instance Lucianus *Herm*. 82, *DMeretr.* 4.1, Aristaenet. 1.24.33. The corruption of αὐτῷ into αὐτοῦ was only to be expected after ἐδεήθη, which governs the genitive.

Olearius tries to save the transmitted ἐπ' Ἄργους by pointing out that Argos in Cilicia is meant here. He refers to Str. 12.2.6 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὅ τε Ἄργος, ἔρυμα ὑψηλὸν πρὸς

198 Donald Mastronarde has drawn my attention to the famous line from Euripides' *Orestes* (279) ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὖθις αὖ γαλήν' ὁρῶ but there the sense of "calm waters" is prepared by the immediately preceding κυμάτων, whereas in the present passage the contrasting ῥαγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνήχοις comes after γαληνοῖς (ὕδασι). Moreover, in the present passage the adjectives are substantivated by the definite article.

τῷ Ταύρῳ, and to Stephanus Byzantinus 1.400 who mentions an Argos in Cilicia, τετάρτη (sc. Ἄργος) Κιλικίας ἡ νῦν Ἀργειόπολις. If indeed Philostratus had meant this Cilician Argos, we would expect a specification in order to avoid confusion with the well-known Peloponnesian Argos. Cobet 1859, 136 further remarks that the preposition ἐπί is ill at place. Finally, he points out that in ch. 34.1 (p. 215.13) Apollonius turns out to be in Tarsus. Therefore Cobet's conjecture ἐς Τάρσους is convincing.

6.30.2 (p. 213.15) "ὁ ἐκ νέου" ἔφη "μοσχεύσας με," τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λέγων ὁ Τίτος καὶ τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἂν μόνου ἀρχθῆναι, **ὃς** ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀκροάσει συνείθιζε.

ὃς **FQ** : ᾧ **A** : ὃ **E** : γρ. ὅσον $\mathbf{A}^{\text{lmg}}$

There can hardly be any doubt that ὅς is what we should read here but the variants in the transmission are bewildering. The homophonous readings ᾧ and ὅ come from the same source but how? On the hypothesis that ὅς is the authentic reading we must suppose that first ὅς turned into ὅ which then became ᾧ in **A**. The marginal reading in **A**, γρ. ὅσον, may result from a conflation of ὅς and ὅ. As often, the reading of **FQ** is probably the result of conjecture.

6.30.2 (p. 213.20) πρεσβύτερα γὰρ **ξυμβεβλήσεται** νέοις, ἐξ ὧν καὶ γῆρας ἰσχύσει καὶ νεότης οὐκ ἀτακτήσει.

ξυμβεβλήσεται **A** : ξυμβλήσεται **E** : ξυμβήσεται **FQ**

Confusion of -βη- and -βλη- occurs frequently in our mss.; see note on 4.28.1 (p. 130.10). Here -βλη- from ξυμβάλλω is much stronger than -βη- from ξυμβαίνω. **A**'s ξυμβεβλήσεται is in accordance with Philostratus' predilection for the future perfect, for which see note on 5.7.1 (p. 150.2). Although Philostratus often uses the future perfect with the same meaning as the simple future I think that in this passage ξυμβεβλήσεται must be taken as a "real" future perfect, indicating the permanent state of collaboration of old and young.

6.31.2 (p. 214.5) "τίς δέ," ἔφη "Ἀπολλώνιε, ἡ σοφία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου;" "παρρησία" εἶπε "καὶ τὸ ἀληθεύειν ἐκπλήττεσθαί τε ὑπὸ μηδενός· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Κυνικοῦ **κράτους**."

κράτους] fortasse Κράτους Schmid

Some scholars (Jacobs, Schmid with a query, Mumprecht, Mooij) take the word κράτος in the sense of "school" but there are no parallels for this meaning. Schmid 4.191 suggests that Κράτους may be a personal name and refer to the well-known Cynic philosopher Crates, but the construction of the genitive would be strange. There is no need to doubt the text. As Olearius points out in his note the phrase refers to 4.25.1 (p. 127.7–

8) Δημήτριος, ἀνὴρ ξυνειληφὼς ἅπαν τὸ ἐν Κυνικῇ κράτος.[199] The genitive τοῦ Κυνικοῦ κράτους is a *genetivus qualitatis*.

6.33 (p. 215.11) Δίδωμί σε βασιλεῖ Τίτῳ διδάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἤθους, σὺ δ' ἀληθεῦσαί τέ **με** πρὸς αὐτὸν δίδου καὶ γίγνου αὐτῷ πλὴν ὀργῆς πάντα.

με **A** *Ep.Ap.* : μοι **A**$^{\text{lsl}}$ **E FQ** *Ep.Ap.***LrPs**

With the dative μοι there is ambiguity as to who is the subject of ἀληθεῦσαι, Apollonius or Demetrius. Now "speaking the truth" is one of the things that constitute Demetrius' wisdom according to Apollonius (6.31.2 [p. 214.4]) but this is not the same as "speaking truth to him", which is the meaning with the reading μοι ("Do me the favor of speaking truth to him" [Jones]). With the reading με Apollonius asks Demetrius to make Apollonius' promise to Titus about Demetrius come true ("Prove that what I said to him is true" [Penella]). The change of με to μοι was probably provoked by the verb δίδου which is very often accompanied by a dative.

6.36.3 (p. 217.14) (...) νομίσας, εἰ μὲν τὰ τελεώτερα ἔμαθες, κἂν ὅμοιος ἀνδρὶ ὁπλιτεύοντί τε καὶ φοβερῷ δόξαι, ταυτὶ δ' ἐκμαθὼν τὴν τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ σφενδονητῶν σκευὴν **ἕξεις**· βάλλοις γὰρ ἂν τοὺς συκοφάντας ὥσπερ τοὺς κύνας.

ἕξεις] ἕξειν Reiske^{2}

Reiske's conjecture regularizes the syntax by making ἕξειν correspond to the infinitive δόξαι, both dependent on the participle νομίσας. But such regularity is not obligatory in Philostratus. Moreover, the finite ἕξεις is continued by the finite βάλλοις ἄν, which should have been βάλλειν ἄν if the whole passage were to be considered dependent on νομίσας. Therefore I have kept the transmitted text.

6.38 (p. 218.2–3) Στασιάζοντος δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος καὶ καθιέντος εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, ὑφ' ὧν διειστήκεισαν, **ἐκκλησίαζε μὲν ἡ πόλις**, σεισμοῦ δὲ γενναίου προσπεσόντος, ἔπτηξαν καί, ὅπερ ἐν διοσημείαις εἴωθεν, ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων εὔξαντο.

ἐκκλησίαζε (vel ἐκκλησιάζει) μὲν ἡ πόλις Reiske^{2} : ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις **A E FQ** : ⟨ἐθορύβει⟩ ἐκκλησιαζομένη ⟨ἡ⟩ πόλις Reiske^{1} : ἐκκλησιαζομένη ⟨ἡ⟩ πόλις Phillimore

The singular ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις governing the plural predicate διειστήκεισαν in itself is hardly problematic in Philostratus but the meaning of the phrase is unacceptable: it would mean that the quarrel among the citizens had arisen during an assembly. The sequel of the story makes clear that the earthquake which reconciled the citizens took place during an assembly. All difficulties disappear with Reiske's elegant restoration of

199 Olearius' "IV, 24" is a printing error.

the correct word division which also provides the μέν which serves as the counterpart of the following δέ. This is Reiske at his very best.

I have not followed Schenkl in writing ἠκκλησίαζε with a temporal augment.[200] Schmid 4.29 lists a number of instances where the temporal augment is omitted in Philostratus and this case should be added to the list. Two lines further we find the unaugmented εὔξαντο. A TLG search that there are many instances of unaugmented forms of the imperfect of ἐκκλησιάζω; the TLG mentions only two instances of the augmented imperfect ἠκκλησίαζ-, both in Demosthenes (18.265 [where Dilts reports that four primary mss. and four ancient quotations have ἐκκλ-] and 19.60).

6.38 (p. 218.6) καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔννοιαν ὧν πείσονται **καὶ** ταὐτὸ τοῖς ἑτέροις φοβήσονται.

καὶ] εἰ Reiske[1] : καὶ ⟨ὡς⟩ Kayser[1App] Kayser[2T]: καὶ ⟨κατὰ⟩ Radermacher : καὶ ⟨ὅπως⟩ temptanter Mastronarde

The transmitted text is explained correctly by Olearius: "constructionem et orationem integram esse puto καὶ ἅ τ' αυτὸ [sic] (i.e. ἃ κατὰ τ' αυτὸ) τοῖς ἑταίρ. φοβ.". ἅ should be mentally supplied from ὧν; for ταὐτό in the meaning "similarly" see KG 1.311, Anmerk. 7.

6.40.2 (p. 220.1) εἰ δὲ ἐνεθυμοῦ τὰ Ἰξίονος, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἔννοιαν καθίστασο τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίων ἐρᾶν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν **⟨ἐν⟩ τροχῷ ᾐκισμένος** δι' οὐρανοῦ κνάμπτεται κτέ.

⟨ἐν⟩ τρόχῳ Cobet ‖ ᾐκισμένος Bentley : εἰκασμένος **A E FQ** : ἐγκεκλασμένος Jacobs[6] : ἐληλασμένος Scheibe

The transmitted τρόχῳ εἰκασμένος means "just like a wheel" which is nonsense. Ixion was tied to a wheel, not made similar to a wheel. Bentley's ᾐκισμένος is by far the most likely conjecture, both because it gives excellent meaning and because it best explains the corruption.

I have also accepted Cobet's addition of ἐν before τρόχῳ. Elsewhere, we usually find phrases such as ἐπὶ τρόχου, ἐν τρόχῳ and περὶ τρόχον with regard to Ixion. The dative without a preposition is found in Lucianus *Podagra* 11–12 οὐδ' Ἰξίονα | τροχῷ στροβητόν, but this is poetry. A possible scenario is that ἐν was left out as the result of haplography, as it is preceded by μέν. The omission of ἐν facilitated the corruption of ᾐκισμένος to εἰκασμένος.

6.41 (p. 220.8) Σεισμῶν δὲ κατασχόντων ποτὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν καὶ Χαλδαῖοι περὶ αὐτὰς ἠγείροντο ὑπὲρ συλλογῆς χρημάτων, ὡς

200 Jones wrongly reports that Reiske himself proposes the augmented form ἠκκλησίαζε.

δεκαταλάντους θυσίας Γῇ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύσοντες, ξυνέφερον δ' αἱ πόλεις τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν **οἰκ⟨εί⟩ων** ὑποκείμενοι τῷ φόβῳ, οἱ δέ κτέ.

οἰκ⟨εί⟩ων scripsi: οἴκων **A**^{1pc} **E FQ**: **κων **A**^{acl}

Normally, τὸ κοινόν and τὰ κοινά form a couple with τὸ οἰκεῖον and τὰ οἰκεῖα; see for instance Th. 1.141.7, E. *Ph.* 692, Critias fr. 45, D. 19.236, Arist. *Rh.* 1396b10, D.H. 11.9.3 and so on. Therefore I have not hesitated to print οἰκ⟨εί⟩ων in our passage as well. The subject αἱ πόλεις is a metonymy for οἱ πολῖται; see the masculine participle ὑποκείμενοι in the sequel of the sentence.

6.43.2 (p. 221.13) ὡς δὲ μὴ λάθοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μέγα ἀπόρρητον, "μεθέστηκε μὲν" ἔφη "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἡ Τηλέφου ψυχὴ τοῦ Μυσοῦ, Μοῖραι δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ ταὐτὰ **βούλονται**, κτέ."

βούλονται **A E FQ** : βουλ⟨εύ⟩ονται Headlam

Although the confusion of βούλεσθαι and βουλεύεσθαι is very frequent I think that Headlam's conjecture is unnecessary here. Βούλεσθαι can be used with a nominal object in which case an infinitive can often be mentally supplied (see LSJ s.v. I.1); here we might supply γενέσθαι. With the transmitted reading βούλονται Apollonius makes clear that he executes the will of the Fates.

6.43.3 (p. 221.23) Τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν τε καὶ πόλεων καὶ πρὸς δήμους καὶ ὑπὲρ δήμων καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τεθνεώτων ἢ νοσούντων καὶ τὰ πρὸς σοφούς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέας, οἳ ξύμβουλον αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς **ἐποιοῦν⟨το⟩**.

ἐποιοῦν⟨το⟩ Boissonade^{2} : ἐποίουν **A E F** : ἐποίουν* **Q**

Boissonade points out that in all other occurrences of the phrase ξύμβουλον ποιεῖσθαι in Philostratus we find the middle voice. In fact, this goes for other authors as well; the only instances of ξύμβουλον ποιεῖν furnished by the TLG occur in late texts such as the *Alexander novel*, recensio γ (lib. 2), 35a,25; recensio Byzantina poetica (cod. Marcianus 408), 721–722, 5933, and ps.-Palladius, *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* 2.25. In *VA* 4.31.1 (p. 132.14) we find the phrase ξένον ἐποιοῦντο. Therefore Boissonade's conjecture can be regarded as certain.

BOOK SEVEN

7.2.1 (p. 222.14) οἳ δ' ἦσαν τῷ τυράννῳ βέβαιοι, διαβαλὼν τούτους ὡς οὐ βεβαίους, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθέσι ταῖς αἰτίαις ἀπέθανον, ὁ δ' **ἐλεύθερα** τὰ Μυσῶν ἤγαγε τὴν τυραννίδα περὶ ἑαυτῇ σφήλας.

ἐλεύθερα **A E FQ** : ⟨ἐς⟩ ἐλευθερ⟨ί⟩α⟨ν⟩ Lucarini

With regard to the transmitted text Lucarini 2004, 254 writes: "Quae quomodo possint servari non video". He proposes changing ἐλεύθερα into ἐς ἐλευθερίαν, referring to 1.9.2 (p. 9.22–23) ὁ δ' ἤγαγεν ἐς ὑγείαν τὸ μειράκιον. Schmid 4.117 mentions five instances of a proleptic predicate in Philostratus, among which the well-known phrase ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκε in 5.41.1 (p. 176.11) Νέρων ἐλευθέραν ἀφῆκε τὴν Ἑλλάδα. The transmitted text is sound: it is an imitation of D. 9.36 καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

7.2.2 (p. 222.17–18) Φύτων δὲ Ῥηγίου ἐκπεσὼν κατέφυγε μὲν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον, μειζόνων δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἢ τὸν **φ⟨ε⟩ύγοντα** εἰκὸς συνῆκε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου **{καὶ}** ὅτι τοῦ Ῥηγίου ἐρᾴη, Ῥηγίνοις δ' ἐπιστέλλων ταῦτα ἥλω.

φ⟨ε⟩ύγοντα Cobet : φυγόντα **A E FQ** ‖ καὶ del. Cobet

Cobet 1859, 140–141 defends his conjecture φεύγοντα as follows: "Saepe scribae *exsules*, quos Graeci φεύγοντας appellant, φυγόντας solent dicere errore manifesto. Recte habet perfectum οἱ ἐκπεπτωκότες, sed aoristo in ea re locus nullus est." It is obvious that ὁ φυγών cannot mean "someone who is living in exile" which is the meaning we need here. In 1.35.1 (p. 34.11–12) we read about this same Phyton: καὶ Φύτων, ὅτ' ἔφυγεν Ῥήγιον κτέ. Although this refers to the same event as our passage the phrase ὅτ' ἔφυγεν Ῥήγιον indicates the moment Phyton left Rhegium.[201] In our passage φυγόντα may result from *Echoschreibung* of κατέφυγε.

Cobet 1859, 140 points out that συνῆκε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου ὅτι τοῦ Ῥηγίου ἐρᾴη is a refined way of expressing συνῆκε μὲν ὅτι τοῦ Ῥηγίου ἐρᾴη ὁ τύραννος. The transmitted text, if possible at all, means that Phyton acquired a thorough understanding of all the tyrant's thoughts and in particular of his ambition to conquer Rhegium, which is quite out of place here. Therefore Cobet is right in deleting καί after τυράννου.

201 In the passage from book 1 **A** and **E** have ἔφυγεν, while **F** has ἔφευγεν, which was accepted by all editors. Kayser[2] prints ὁ Ῥηγῖνος for Ῥήγιον, probably exactly because of the imperfect ἔφευγεν.

7.2.2 (p. 222.20) καὶ ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἑνὸς τῶν μηχανημάτων ἀνάψας αὐτὸν ζῶντα προσήγαγε τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὡς μὴ **βάλλοιεν** οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι τὸ μηχάνημα φειδοῖ τοῦ Φύτωνος, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα βάλλειν.

βάλλοιεν **E** : βάλοιεν **A FQ**

By tying Phyton to a siege engine Dionysius hopes to prevent the citizens of Rhegium from aiming their arrows and spears at the engine for fear of hitting their fellow-citizen Phyton. This requires the present stem; the aorist means "to hit". The present is supported by the immediate sequel in which Phyton shouts to his fellows that they must continue shooting their missiles: ὁ δὲ ἐβόα βάλλειν. Thus I have printed βάλλοιεν even though it is only found in **E**.

7.2.2 (p. 222.23) Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Πύθων οἱ Κότυν ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Θρᾷκα Αἰνίῳ μὲν ἤστην ἄμφω, τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημίους διατριβὰς **ἐπασκοῦντε** σοφώ τε ἐγενέσθην καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθέρω.

ἐπασκοῦντε scripsi praeeuntibus Van Wulfften Palthe (ἐπασκοῦντες) et Bentley (ἐπαινοῦντε; et Reiske[2]) : ἐπαινοῦντες **A E FQ**

With regard to the transmitted text Van Wulfften Palthe 1887, 68 dryly remarks: "Quo modo, qui laudat disciplinam academicorum, sapiens fiat idemque liber, minime intellego." It is by practising the Academic way of life that one becomes wise, not by praising it. Palthe's conjecture ἐπασκοῦντες is supported by the fact that Philostratus uses this verb elsewhere too, e.g. 1.2.1 (p. 2.17) ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας, ἣν φιλοσόφως τε καὶ ὑγιῶς ἐπήσκησεν. ἐπαινοῦντες may result both from perseveration of Αἰνίῳ and from anticipation of ἐπαινέσας in the next sentence.

Bentley and Reiske wish to read the dual form of the participle. Although Schmid 4.46–47 points out that the incongruent combination of dual and plural forms is regularly found in Philostratus it would be very strange to find the isolated plural ἐπασκοῦντες surrounded by no fewer than six dual forms. Moreover, the change of an authentic -οῦντε into -οῦντες can be easily explained as the result of dittography of the initial sigma of the immediately following σοφώ. The preceding plural participle ἀποκτείναντες does not support the plural ἐπαινοῦντες because ἀποκτείναντες is substantivated.

7.2.3 (p. 223.3) Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σινωπεὺς καὶ Κράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος ὁ μὲν εὐθὺ Χαιρωνείας ἥκων ἐπέπληξεν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων Φιλίππῳ **περὶ ὧν** Ἡρακλείδης εἶναι φάσκων ἀπώλλυ ὅπλοις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὅπλα ἠρμένους κτέ.

περὶ ὧν suspectum : ὑπὲρ ὧν Scaliger: "aut delendum aut in ὅτι mutandum" Wesseling : παρών, ⟨εἰ⟩ Jacobs[5/6]

The phrase περὶ ὧν is strange and it is not surprising that Wesseling and Jacobs tried to get rid of it but their conjectures are unconvincing. Scaliger's ὑπέρ doesn't help us either.

Kayser[1], in his note on the passage (p. 193), states that there is no need to alter the transmitted text. He refers to his note on Eugenicus' *Ecphraseis* 3 (Kayser 1840, p. 151), in which he explains the text as follows: "Constructio difficilior sic solvatur: περὶ ὧν ἔφασκε φάσκων Ἡ. εἶναι, εἶτα ἀπολλὺς κτέ." I assume that Kayser argues that when starting the clause Philostratus intended to concentrate on the reproaches Diogenes made to Philip with regard to his statement of being a descendant of Heracles and then added the reproach of what he had done to the Athenians (who had protected the Heraclids). Even so, the phrasing is bewildering. Because I don't see what might be the source of a corrupt περὶ ὧν I have kept the transmitted text with much doubt.

7.6 (p. 225.9) Καὶ μὴν καὶ λόγου ἀφικομένου, ὡς λαμπρὰν κάθαρσιν εἴη Δομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἑστίας, ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἑστιάδων ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ τῆς ζώνης καὶ τῷ μὴ καθαρεῦσαι γάμων, ἃς **ἀγνῶς** τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἔδει, "εἰ γὰρ καὶ σὺ" ἔφη "καθαρθείης κτέ."

ἁγνῶς **A E** : ἁγνὰς **FQ**

The point at issue is that the three Vestal Virgins who were accused of having had sex were no longer pure themselves and one would expect this to be expressed by the adjective and not by the adverb. On the other hand, it might be argued that ἁγνῶς θεραπεύειν means that everything is done according to the strict rules of the cult of Vesta, including the abstaining from sex by the Vestal Virgins. The reading ἁγνάς in **FQ** may be due to *Echoschreibung* of the immediately preceding ἅς but it could also be a conjecture; the corruption of an authentic ἁγνάς to ἁγνῶς is difficult to explain.

7.8.1 (p. 225.24) ὧν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, ὃν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἦρχεν, ἀεί τι ὑπὲρ σωφροσύνης ἐπέστελλε τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσποιῶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὡς **χρηστοῖς** κτέ.

χρηστοῖς **E FQ** : χρηστοὺς **A** (ci. Scaliger Reiske[1/2])

In itself, **A**'s χρηστούς is definitely *lectio difficilior* but even so the dative is to be preferred, as appears from the fact that Apollonius dissuades Nerva, Orfitus and Rufus to side with Domitian because he is χαλεπός, which contrasts with χρηστοῖς. χρηστούς was conjectured by Scaliger and Reiske but we do not know their motives in favour of χρηστούς.

7.8.2 (p. 226.3–4) βαδίσαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παρὰ **τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα** καὶ διαλεχθῆναί οἱ καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθὼ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πᾶν ὅ τι ἐγώ.

τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα Eus. : τὸν δεῖνα **A E FQ**

Apollonius asks a number of his friends to go to Rome and talk to Nerva, Orphitus and Rufus and not just to one of them, as appears from the plural φεύγοιεν in the next sentence. Therefore Eusebius' reading must be authentic. For the phrase compare e.g. D. 19.168 ἀλλ' ἔχουσιν ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα; Philostr. *VA* 1.15.2 (p. 15.25–26) "ὁ δεῖνα" ἔφη "καὶ ὁ δεῖνα" πλείους εἰπὼν "τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ καθεστηκότος αἴτιοι"; *VS* 1.21.54.1 (p. 33.4–5 Stefec) καὶ γὰρ ἡ δεῖνα καὶ ἡ δεῖνα καὶ πλείους. The singular οἱ in διαλεχθῆναί οἱ is no problem: it refers to each of the three individually. The omission of καὶ τὸν δεῖνα is due to haplography.

7.10.1 (p. 226.25) πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑταίρους εἰπὼν δεῖσθαι ἀποδημίας ἀπορρήτου, τοὺς μὲν εἰσῆλθεν Ἀβάριδος τοῦ ἀρχαίου δόξα, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τοιόνδε τι **ὡρμήκει** κτέ.

ὡρμήκει **A E FQ** : ὡρμήκοι Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}

According to the rules of classical syntax the perfect indicative or optative is required here, which induced Kayser to print ὡρμήκοι. But there are other passages where we find the imperfect (or pluperfect) in object clauses; see for instance 2.35.1 (p. 66.25) ἐνεθυμεῖτο (ἐνθυμοῖτο Kayser) and 3.16.4 (p. 84.8) ᾔδει (εἰδείη Cobet), where see the notes. Therefore I have kept the transmitted ὡρμήκει.

7.11.1 (p. 227.16–19) ἰζησάντων δὲ ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ οἱ μὲν τέττιγες ὑποψαλλούσης **αὐτοῖς** τῆς **αὔρας** ἐν ᾠδαῖς ἦσαν, ἀναβλέψας δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος "ὦ μακάριοι" ἔφη "καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοί, ὡς ἐδίδαξάν τε ὑμᾶς ᾠδὴν ἄρα Μοῦσαι μήπω ἐς δίκας ἢ διαβολὰς ὑπαχθεῖσαν, γαστρός τε κρείττους ἐποίησαν καὶ **ἀνώκισαν** τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου φθόνου ἐς ταυτὶ τὰ δένδρα κτέ."

αὐτοῖς Phot. (ci. Valckenaer^{2}) : αὐτοὺς **A FQ** : αὐτῆς **E** ‖ αὔρας Valckenaer^{2} : ὥρας **A E FQ** Phot. ‖ ἀνώκισαν] ἀπώκισαν Scaliger (et Bentley Platt LSJ [s.v. ἀνοικίζω I])

This whole passage closely imitates Plato's *Phaedrus* 230b2–c3, where Socrates and Phaedrus have a discussion under the plane trees at the river Ilissus, while the cicadas sing their midday song. We should start our analysis of the textual problems with the meaning of ὑποψαλλούσης. LSJ s.v. give as the meaning "*touch softly*" (namely the strings of the lyre); in our passage they claim that it means "invite to sing". A TLG search shows that our passage is the earliest attestation of the word. It is often found in Christian authors such as John Chrysostom. The meaning usually is "*sing in response*" (Lampe), often with a direct object. I have not found passages where the basic meaning "touch softly" is applicable. If we accept this meaning in the present passage it indicates that the cicadas are compared to the strings of musical instruments which are touched by a musician. But the cicadas are not just musical instruments: rather they are to be compared to singers, who are both musical instruments and musicians. Therefore the meaning "sing (in response)" must be postulated here as well.

The transmitted ὥρας might be kept if ὑποψαλλούσης could indeed mean "touch softly", i.e. "invite to sing". But it will not do as the subject of "sing (in response)". Val-

ckenaer's ingenious conjecture exactly hits the mark: it is the breeze that responds to the singing of the cicadas. Kayser[2] followed Cobet (1859, 79–80) in accepting Valckenaer's αὔρας but he kept the accusative αὐτούς, which does not fit the meaning of ὑποψαλλούσης. The dative αὐτοῖς, attested in Photius and conjectured by Valckenaer, fits in well with the meaning "sing in response". For the combination of breeze and cicadas in this scene compare *AP* 16.227.3–4 ᾖχί σε καὶ Ζεφύροιο τινασσομένη πίτυς αὔραις | θέλξει τεττίγων εἰσαΐοντα μέλος.

The conjecture ἀπῴκισαν, which was made four times independently, is unnecessary. The transmitted ἀνῴκισαν is correctly explained by Olearius: "h.e. ᾤκισαν ἀνωτέρον ἀνθρ. φθόνου."

7.12.1 (p. 228.25) "Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι εἰπέ, Δημήτριε, τί δοκῶ σοι λέγων ἢ τί πράττων εὖ θήσεσθαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ φόβον;" "μὴ παίζων," ἔφη "μηδὲ **ἃ ⟨μὴ⟩ δέδιας**, φοβεῖσθαι λέγων· εἰ γὰρ φοβερὰ ἡγοῦ ταῦτα, κἂν ᾖχου ἀποδρὰς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον."

ἃ ⟨μὴ⟩ δέδιας Bentley (et Olearius)

Apollonius asks Demetrius for advice on how to calm his fears. This question, of course, is ironical; Demetrius understands this but he is not amused. He bids Apollonius to be serious and not to state that he fears what in fact he does not fear. This is the explanation offered by Olearius in his note to the passage and therefore he inserts μή before δέδιας, without mentioning that the same conjecture had already been made by Bentley.[202] Kayser[1], in his note (p. 194), argues that the insertion of μή is wrong because "[d]istinguit enim Apollonius inter δέος sollicitudinem, curam et φόβον metum, pavorem". Kayser probably means something like: "Don't say that you *are afraid* of that which *is your concern*." However, if Philostratus had wished to make this distinction he might have been expected to do so more explicitly because generally speaking δεδοικέναι and φοβεῖσθαι are synonyms. Kayser refers to 7.14.9 (p. 234.10) but there the distinction is still less probable than in the present passage.

The omission of μή may result from the accumulation of negations in this sentence: μὴ παίζων," ἔφη "μηδέ, ἃ ⟨μὴ⟩ δέδιας, φοβεῖσθαι λέγων.

7.12.1 (p. 228.27–229.4) "οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη "μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εἴ τις ἐδίκαζε· τὸ δ' ἄνευ δίκης καὶ **ὁ** μηδ' εἰ ἀπολογοίμην **ἀκροασόμενος ἢ** ἀκροασόμενος μέν, ἀποκτενῶν δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα, οὐκ ἂν ἐμοὶ γοῦν ξυνεχώρησας ἑλέσθαι ποτὲ ψυχρὸν οὕτω καὶ ἀνδραποδώδη θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσήκοντος."

ὁ Laur.CS.155^{pc} (ci. Richards) : ὃ **A E FQ** ‖ ἀκροασόμενος ἢ Laur.CS.155^{pc} : ἀκροασάμενος ἢ **A E FQ** ‖ τὸ δ' ἄνευ – προσήκοντος: lacunas duas statuit Reiske : textum addubitat Jones

202 For Olearius' plagiarism of Bentley see the Introduction, p. 12.

Reiske argues that there are two lacunas in this sentence: after ἀδικοῦντα he wishes to add something like πόσον δοκεῖ εἶναι or μῶν εὐκαταφρόνητά σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι or something similar; next he suggests that something is missing like (Apoll.) οὐκ ἂν ἐμοιγοῦν (*sic*, Reiske's spelling) συνεχώρησας ἑλέσθαι τότε (*sic*) θάνατον. (Demetr.) οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγε σοι συνεχώρησα ἑλέσθαί ποτε ψυχρὸν κτέ. Jones states that "[t]he Greek is uncertain". But there is no problem at all if we use the correct accentuation and punctuation. In the first place we should read the article ὁ with Laur.CS.155^{pc} and the three older editions instead of the neuter relative ὅ which was introduced from the primary manuscripts by Kayser^{1}. In the second place, we should restore the comma after ἀδικοῦντα with the Aldina and Morel against the full stop introduced by Olearius. In this way we have a sentence which fits the typical Philostratean syntax of starting with a nominative, or rather with two nominatives in this case, and then radically changing the construction. The sentence starts as if Demetrius were going to say something like "But the absence of justice and the person of the emperor who won't listen to me ⟨are certain to lead to a slavish death which is unworthy of a philosopher⟩." Instead the construction switches to "you would not have permitted me to choose etc." A "normal" sentence would have read "But in view of the absence of justice and in view of the person of the emperor who will not listen to me you wouldn't have permitted me to choose etc." Once more, punctuation proves to be of primary importance.

The corruption of the first ἀκροασόμενος to ἀκροασάμενος in the primary mss. was probably caused by wrongly regarding it as a doublet of the second ἀκροασόμενος.

7.12.1 (p. 229.7–8) φιλοσοφίᾳ δέ, οἶμαι, προσήκει ἢ πόλιν ἐλευθεροῦντα ἀποθανεῖν ἢ γονεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ξυγγενείᾳ ἀμύνοντα ἢ ὑπὲρ φίλων ἀγωνιζόμενον, οἳ **ξυγγενείας** αἱρετώτεροι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν **ἢ οἱ ἠμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος**.

ξυγγενείας] ξυγγενεία **FQ** : del. Cobet ‖ ἢ οἱ ἠμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος corruptum censet Jacobs^{6} ‖ ἢ οἱ ἠμπολημένοι] ἢ ἠμπολημένον Menagius ‖ ⟨καὶ⟩ ἢ Olearius ‖ οἱ **A E FQ** : οἳ Reiske^{2} (et Kayser$^{1/2}$) : ⟨ὅσ⟩οι Reiske^{1} (et Jacobs^{7}) : "supple τῶν ante οἳ" Kayser^{1N}

Demetrius argues that it does not become a philosopher to die by the hand of a tyrant such as Domitian. If a philosopher is to die, it should be on behalf of his city or his parents, children or brothers and other cognates or on behalf of his friends. So far, so good, but *in cauda venenum*. The relative clause, which has "the friends" as its antecedent, is problematic in two respects: the construction of the clause and the meaning of οἱ ἠμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος. To start with the latter: this phrase is interpreted either as "persons to whom one is contracted by love", that is, lovers, or as the "fruits of love", that is, children. Cobet 1859, 141 defends the latter interpretation, arguing that the ἠμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος cannot stand for παιδικά, as Kayser claims in his note (p. 194), because this "ab Apollonii vita et ingenio et moribus prorsus abhorret". But the παιδικά are mentioned again in 7.14.1 (p. 231.20) in a quite similar context; predictably, Cobet changes παιδικῶν into παίδων in that passage (in which he was anticipated by Marc.XI.29 and

Par.1696). Moreover, if οἱ ἠμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος stood for children it would be a mere repetition of παισί in the same sentence. Thus οἱ ἠμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος stands for lovers. Friendship, φιλία, is contrasted with ἔρως on the one hand and with family bonds on the other hand and φιλία surpasses both.

The next problem concerns the syntax of the clause. ξυγγενείας is an objective genitive dependent on the comparative αἱρετώτεροι. Therefore one would expect to find τῶν ἠμπολημένων ἐξ ἔρωτος to match ξυγγενείας. Instead we find ἢ οἱ ἠμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος. But if we interpret ἤ as "than" there is a clash between ξυγγενείας and ἢ οἱ ἠμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος which are linked asyndetically. The conjectures recorded aim at solving this problem. ξυγγενεία in **FQ**, which stands for the dative ξυγγενείᾳ, must mean "philosophical kinship" and expresses the reason why friends are more important than lovers. Olearius adds καί before ἤ but this is impossible Greek. Reiske and Kayser read the relative pronoun οἵ instead of the transmitted οἱ, claiming that τῶν should be supplied as the antecedent before οἵ and that εἰσίν is supplied in the clause; this too hardly needs refutation. I think that we should accept the transmitted text as another instance of Philostratus' deviating syntax, interpreting ἤ as "or". Schmid 4.115–116 and 4.524–526 illustrates with many examples that Philostratus is fond of variation of expression for coordinated constituents. This is a very bold instance of varied coordination.

7.12.2 (p. 229.8) τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπ' **ἀληθέσι καὶ** κεκομψευμένοις δ' ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ σοφῷ δόξαι πολλῷ βαρύτερον ἢ εἴ τις, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα, μετέωρος ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κνάμπτοιτο.

ἀληθέσι καὶ **A E** : ἀληθέσι **A**^{pc} **FQ**

The collocation καί ... δέ is studied in detail by Rijksbaron 1997. Rijksbaron criticizes the treatment of the collocation in Denniston (1954, 199–203) and KG (2.253). He shows (p. 189) that δέ alone cannot serve to connect two items within the same semantic field, e.g. *δίκαιον πρέπον δέ, while it can connect two semantically opposite items, such as Ar. *Nu.* 1462 πονηρά γ', ὦ Νεφέλαι, δίκαια δέ. With regard to the value of καί ... δέ combining two items he states (p. 191): "while καί expresses the idea that the two items semantically belong together, δέ indicates that the (referent of the) second item should be considered in its own right, and is, thus, at least as important as the first item." How does this apply to our passage? The answer depends on how we understand the relation between μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθέσι and κεκομψευμένοις. If we regard these items as opposites we should be content with single δ': "non vera, sed ficta" (Westermann), "not on true charges but trumped up ones" (Jones). If, on the other hand, we regard the phrase μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθέσι as an equivalent of ψευδέσι the following κεκομψευμένοις could be regarded as an expansion.[203] According to Rijksbaron's analysis καί ... δέ would be appropriate here. Indeed, κεκομψευμένοις

203 For this meaning of μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθέσι cf. for instance Plu. 89f9 Ὅταν οὖν λεχθῇ τι μὴ ἀληθές, οὐχ ὅτι ψεῦδός ἐστι δεῖ καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ κτέ. For the position of μή before the preposition cf. KG 2.180, Anmerk. 2: "Wenn aber die Negation vor dem Artikel oder dem Relative oder

does add something to μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθέσι: it is terrible to die on a false accusation but matters are made worse by the fact that the emperor will make the impression of being a wise man because of the cleverness of his concocted accusations.[204] And therefore I have decided to accept καί ... δέ, which must have been in the archetype.

The collocation καί ... δέ is unfamiliar in a context such as this one and this must have induced the corrector of **A** and the scribe of **FQ** to omit καί.

7.13.1 (p. 230.26) καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ προρρήσεως ἐκινδύνευον, εἶχον ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας λέγειν, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν θανάτου ἐρᾷ, ἐγὼ δ' ἀντεραστὴς ξυμπλέω· ἐπεὶ **δ' οὐδὲν** οἶδα, ἐμὸν ἤδη λέγειν, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἶδα, λέξω δὲ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός.

δ' οὐδὲν] fortasse δ⟨ὲ τούτων⟩ οὐδὲν vel δ⟨ὲ τούτου⟩ οὐδὲν

This is a puzzling phrase: "not knowing anything, my only course is to say what I do know" (Jones). The words "not knowing anything" pertain to Damis' possible deliberate motive, referred to by means of the phrase ἐκ προρρήσεως in the preceding sentence. Therefore we would expect a qualifier of οὐδέν. But it may well be the case that Philostratus deliberately makes Damis speak in puzzling terms.

7.14.1 (p. 231.17) σὺ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀπολογήσῃ φόβους ὑποτιθείς, ὧν, εἴ τι καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐφαίνετο, ἀπάγειν ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον ἢ εἴσω καθιστάναι τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι **τὸν {εἰ}** μηδ' ἃ παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν δεδιότα.

τὸν {εἰ} Kayser$^{1/2}$: τὸν εἰ **A E FQ** : τὸν καὶ Salmasius : τὸν εἴ ⟨τις⟩ Kayser^{1App}

The transmitted text cannot be construed. Rinuccino's translation is far removed from the Greek text printed in the Aldine edition: "Nec oportuit ullo modo timorem incutere illi, quem pro iis, quae vere timenda non sunt timere sensisses." Olearius accepts Salmasius' καί for εἰ, translating it as "eum, qui ea quoque metuit, quae ne obventura quidem verosimile erat", explaining in a note that the Greek should be construed as τὸν καὶ δεδιότα ἃ μηδ' παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν, which needs no refutation. Kayser's removal of εἰ is simple and effective. In his reaction to Demetrius' speech Damis had indicated that he did not fear for his own life and this tallies well with τὸν μηδ' ἃ παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν δεδιότα. Kayser's alternative solution, τὸν εἴ ⟨τις⟩ is less attractive.

7.14.7 (p. 233.9) ὁ μὲν γὰρ κομπαστὴν ἔφη καὶ τερατώδη με εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν σοφίας, **ὁπόση ⟨μὴ⟩** Ἰνδῶν.

ὁπόση ⟨μὴ⟩ Jacobs$^{1/2/6}$ (et Madvig) : ὁπόση **A E** : ὁπόσης **FQ**

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einer Konjunktion oder Präposition steht, so darf man keine Versetzung annehmen, sondern die Negation wird deshalb vorausgeschickt, weil ein Gegensatz in Gedanken ergänzt werden muss."

204 Cf. LSJ s.v. κομψεύω 1 "ἥδεσθαι κομψευόμενος to be fond *of clever inventions*, Hp. *Art.* 70".

Some scholars try to save the transmitted text by assuming that ὑβριστής with the genitive means "insolent because of". Thus Jacobs translates "einen übermüthigen Verehrer aller Weisheit der Inder" and Westermann has "omni Indorum sapientia superbientem". But the genitive in combination with ὑβριστής expresses the object of the ὕβρις, as in *AP* 9.172b.2 ὑβριστὴν πενίης (quoted by LSJ s.v. ὑβριστής 2). Del Corno translates the phrase as "violatore della sapienza degli Indiani" but this is in flat contradiction with Apollonius' attitude towards the Indians, as perceived also by Euphrates. Moreover, ὁπόση would be superfluous. Jacobs' alternative solution, to add μή, is convincing; it was proposed independently by Madvig. According to Euphrates, Apollonius pays too much respect to the Indians and thus disrespects all other philosophies.

7.14.7 (p. 233.11) ἐγὼ δὲ ταυτὶ μὲν οὔκ εἰμι, προδότης δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων καὶ σφαγεὺς καὶ οὐδὲν πιστὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά εἰμι, **στέφανός** τε ἀρετῆς εἴ τις, στεφανωσόμενος ἥκω τοῦτον κτέ.

στέφανός **A**^{1sl} : στέφανόν **A E FQ**

The accusative στέφανόν, the reading of the majority of the mss., expresses the internal object of στεφανωσόμενος. But then the pronoun τοῦτον at the end of the clause is clumsy. The supralinear reading στέφανός in **A** removes this problem: στέφανός τε ἀρετῆς εἴ τις is "[i]f there is any crown of virtue" (Jones) and this is naturally picked up by τοῦτον.

There are many cases in which variant readings in **A** have all the appearance of being the result of conjecture. In this case (as in many others) this seems hardly likely to me.

7.14.8 (p. 233.21) ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας οὐδὲ ἐρήσεται οὐδὲν ἥκοντα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Αἴολός ποτε τὸν Ὀδυσσέα κακῶς χρησάμενον τῷ τῆς εὐπλοίας δώρῳ ἄτιμον ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν τῆς νήσου, κἀμὲ δήπου ἀπελᾷ τοῦ ὄχθου, κακὸν **εἰπὼν ἐς** τὸ Ταντάλειον **γεγονέναι** πόμα· βούλονται γὰρ τὸν ἐς αὐτὸ κύψαντα καὶ κινδύνων κοινωνεῖν τοῖς φίλοις.

εἰπὼν ἐς Par.1696^{2pc} : εἰπόντες **A E FQ** ‖ γεγονέναι **E** : γέγονε **A FQ**

The reading of the primary manuscripts, κακὸν εἰπόντες τὸ Ταντάλειον γέγονε πόμα, cannot possibly be correct. The participle can only belong to Iarchas and thus must be in the singular; and there is no place for the finite verb γέγονε. The correction of the latter is due to (a predecessor of) the scribe of **E** while the credits for the first correction go to Joannes Catrares, who made the majority of the corrections in Par.1696. As Donald Mastronarde has pointed out to me, the corruption of εἰπὼν ἐς into εἰπόντες may have been provoked by homophony of -ο- and -ω-, ΕΙΠΩΝΕΣ being written as ΕΙΠΟΝΕΣ and then "corrected" into ΕΙΠΟΝΤΕΣ. It is difficult to imagine how the other corruption originated.

7.14.9 (p. 234.8) (...) δοκεῖ μοι ὁ σοφὸς ἑαυτὸν γινώσκων καὶ παραστάτην ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν μήτ' **ἂν** πτῆξαί τι ὧν οἱ πολλοί, μήτ' **ἂν** θαρσῆσαί τι ὧν ἕτεροι μὴ ξὺν αἰσχύνῃ ἅπτονται.

ἄν] αὖ Reiske[1/2]

Reiske's suggestion to replace ἄν by αὖ is attractive at first sight because πτῆξαι and θαρσῆσαι are opposites while it might be supposed that the force of the first ἄν (before πτῆξαι) extends to θαρσῆσαι as well. However, in Philostratus the collocation μήτ' ἄν – μήτ' ἄν (and the like) is found frequently; see *VA* 1.13.3 (p. 13.10) etcetera. In *VS* 1.17.41.1 (p. 23.24–25 Stefec) Stefec prints οὔτ' ἂν διαβάλοιμι οὔτ' αὖ θαυμάσαιμι but there too αὖ is Reiske's conjecture for the transmitted ἄν and therefore I think that there too we should accept the transmitted ἄν.[205]

7.14.10 (p. 234.13) σοφία δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Πυθικῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐπαινεῖ ξύνεσιν ἡγουμένου περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι τὴν ἀπολλῦσαν **αὐτούς**, ἐπειδὰν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὡς κακὰ εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν.

αὐτοὺς ⟨νόσον⟩ Kayser[1/2]

Kayser[1] adds νόσον with reference to E. *Or*. 395 τίς σ' ἀπόλλυσιν νόσος; Westermann states that the addition of νόσον is unnecessary but in the 1870 edition Kayser stands his ground. Of course, Kayser is right in pointing out that Apollonius has Euripides' *Orestes* in mind but he fails to see that Apollonius combines lines 395 and 396: Με. τίς σ' ἀπόλλυσιν νόσος; | Ορ. ἡ σύνεσις, ὅτι σύνοιδα δείν' εἰργασμένος. And thus I agree with Jones, who follows Westermann in not printing νόσον.

7.14.10 (p. 234.14) ἥδε γάρ που καὶ τῷ Ὀρέστῃ τὰ τῶν Εὐμενίδων εἴδη ἀνέγραφεν, ὅτε **δὴ μαίνεται** ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί.

δὴ μαίνεται **E FQ** : δειμαίνεται **A** : δὴ ἐμαίνετο Par.1696[1pc]

The correction in Par.1696 must have been inspired by the preceding imperfect ἀνέγραφεν but the present μαίνεται is perfectly acceptable, being a "timeless" reference to Euripides' play: "the scene in which Orestes goes mad after killing his mother".

7.14.11 (p. 234.19) ἦν δ' ἐς φαῦλα **ὀλισθήσῃ** ἡ τοῦ νοῦ στάσις, οὐκ ἐᾷ τοῦτον ἡ ξύνεσις οὔτε ὅμμα ὀρθὸν ἐς ἀνθρώπων τινὰ ἀφεῖναι κτέ.

ὀλισθήσῃ **A E FQ** : ὀλίσθῃ Cobet

205 In *VA* 2.36.3 (p. 68.16) I have accepted Scheibe's οὔτ' αὖ for the transmitted αὐτοὶ οὔτε; in 7.21.1 (p. 239.22) I have printed οὔτ' αὖ τὸ {τὸ} γράφειν for the transmitted οὔτ' αὐτὸ τὸ γράφειν.

Cobet rightly states that in Classical Attic the aorist of ὀλισθάνω is ὤλισθον and that later authors often have the sigmatic aorist ὠλίσθησα. Referring to 4.3.1 (p. 111.10), where all primary mss. have ὤλισθεν, he argues that ὀλισθήσῃ in our passage may be due to corruption. But in two passages in *Gymn.* (14 [p. 269.24 Kayser = p. 146.10 Jüthner] and 35 [p. 281.2 Kayser = p. 162.24 Jüthner]) Philostratus has the sigmatic aorist too so that it is safest to accept ὀλισθήσῃ in our passage.

7.14.11 (p. 234.25–26) (...) καὶ ἃ μὲν ὁρῶσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ **εἰ δή** τινα ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴονται, ὀνειρώδη καὶ ἀνεμιαῖα ποιεῖ τούτοις, τὰς δὲ ἀμυδρὰς καὶ φαντασιώδεις πτοίας ἀληθεῖς ἤδη καὶ πιθανὰς **τοῦ φόβου**.

εἰ δή **A** : ἤδη **E FQ** ‖ τοῦ φόβου **A E FQ** : τῷ φόβῳ Par.1696

This is a difficult passage. The general content of the sentence is clear: remorse makes people believe to be real what is in fact imaginary and the other way round. The older editions read ἤδη with **E FQ**; Kayser accepts **A**'s εἰ δή, which is a serious improvement; Olearius anticipated εἰ δή by conjecturing κἂν ἤδη for καὶ ἤδη. After μεθ' ἡμέραν one expects something like κατὰ νύκτα, "during the night"; in fact, μεθ' ἡμέραν is picked up by ὀνειρώδη καὶ ἀνεμιαῖα. To my mind, the real problems are concentrated in the phrase εἰ δή τινα ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴονται, "whatever he seems to hear or say" (Jones). We would expect to find hearing at the same level as seeing but instead we find ἀκούειν οἴονται, which is less definite than the simple ἀκούουσι. It is even stranger to read λέγειν οἴονται: how can one "believe to say something"? Possibly οἴονται already anticipates the perverted state of mind caused by remorse so that οἴονται does not have the connotation of uncertainty but of (former) firm belief.

Wyttenbach and, to a lesser degree, Jacobs completely rewrite the whole passage. I quote their conjectures in order to give an instance of the drastic ingeniousness with which older scholars attempted to restore the original text of a supposedly corrupt passage. Wyttenbach 1810, 596 suggests reading the passage as follows: καὶ ἃ μὲν ὁρῶσι μεθ' ἡμέραν, πτοεῖ τούτους· τὰ δὲ ὀνειρώδη καὶ ἀνεμιαῖα καίτοι ἀμυδρὰς καὶ φαντασιώδεις πτοίας, ὡς ἀληθεῖς ἤδη καὶ πιθανὰς τοῦ φόβου φαντασίας τινὰ ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴονται, adding the proviso "nisi germanam scripturam, probabilem tamen sententiam reddant". Jacobs[3], 308 proposes: καὶ ἃ μὲν δρῶσι μεθ' ἡμέραν, νυκτὶ ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴονται, καὶ ὀνειρώδη δή τινα καὶ ἀνεμιαῖα πτοιεῖ τοιούτους, τὰς δὲ ἀμυδρὰς καὶ φαντασιώδεις πτοίας ἀληθεῖς ἤδη καὶ πιθανὰς τοῦ φόβου.

The primary mss. read τοῦ φόβου which Kayser replaced with τῷ φόβῳ, found in Par.1696. I think that the genitive can be maintained, expressing the object of πιθανάς, "inspiring fear", although I have not found parallels for this objective genitive accompanying πιθανός.

7.15.3 (p. 235.24) "ὀρθῶς" ἔφη "λέγεις καὶ ἴωμεν, ἐγὼ μέν, ὡς ἔχω, σὲ δὲ χρὴ μετασκευάζειν σαυτὸν ἐς τὸ δημοτικώτερον καὶ μήτε κομᾶν, ὡς **νῦν** ἔχεις, τρίβωνά τε ἀνταλλάττεσθαι τουτουὶ τοῦ λίνου καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα παραιτεῖσθαι τοῦτο."

νῦν Reiske[1] : γοῦν **A E FQ** : γε νῦν Reiske[2]

Apollonius advises Damis to replace his philosophical appearance with that of a commoner before entering Rome, that is, he should shave his hair, and take off his philosopher's cloak and shoes. In the transmitted text, Apollonius refers to Damis' present appearance with the phrase ὡς γοῦν ἔχεις. Reiske took offence at γοῦν. Indeed, there seems to be no room for the restrictive force of γοῦν nor can γοῦν be an equivalent of γάρ in this passage. A TLG search shows that apart from the present passage the phrase ὡς γοῦν ἔχ– never occurs. Reiske's suggestion (γε) νῦν is supported by the numerous occurrences of ὡς νῦν ἔχ–. It is remarkable that many translations add an equivalent of νῦν (e.g. "und nicht wie jetzt dein Haar lang lassen" [Jacobs], "and not wear your hair long, at any rate as it is now" [Jones]). I find Reiske's conjecture convincing and I have chosen to print νῦν without a preceding γε because the corruption of single νῦν to γοῦν is easier to explain than the corruption of γε νῦν to γοῦν; moreover, I have found only one instance of ὡς γε νῦν ἔχ–, namely Th. 6.11.2 Σικελιῶται δ' ἄν μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὥς γε νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἧσσον δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰ ἄρξειαν αὐτῶν Συρακόσιοι, where the restrictive force of γε is relevant in the context.

7.15.3 (p. 236.3–4) αἰτία μὲν ἥδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμιν τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα· οὐ γὰρ **κακίᾳ** γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναί φησιν, οὐδὲ **μεταγνοὺς αὐτοῦ**, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἣν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ.

κακίᾳ Par.1696[2pc] Eus. : κακίω **E** : ὡς κακίω **A** : κακίων **FQ** : κάκιον (sic) Reiske[1] ‖ μεταγνοὺς αὐτοῦ **A E FQ** : μεταγνοὺς Eus. : καταγνοὺς αὐτοῦ Reiske[2]

I believe that κακίᾳ is the authentic reading here; it is found in Eusebius and it was introduced in Par.1696 as a conjecture. First, κακίᾳ was corrupted into κακίω; next, **FQ** changed κακίω into κακίων while **A** added ὡς; both readings probably result from conjecture. The comparative κακίων implies that Damis had already been somewhat cowardly in the past; thus Jones translates "because he had grown more cowardly". But Damis had not shown cowardly behaviour on any occasion so that the comparative is out of place. In 7.31.1 (p. 247.23–26) Damis is full of fear when they are going to confront Domitian but he succeeds in hiding his fear and therefore cannot be accused of cowardice. For the variation of expression in κακίᾳ and μεταγνούς see Schmid 4.524–526.

Usually, the object of μεταγιγνώσκω is in the accusative but in Philostratus *Ep.* 16 (p. 233.1–2 Kayser) we find the dative. Therefore there is no need to doubt the genitive here, which may well be due to the aim of avoiding repetition of αὐτό in the preceding clause.

7.18.1 (p. 237.17) (...) χρησόμενος δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σοί, καὶ χιλίαρχόν **με{ν}** ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦγεν ἤδη τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰδότα κτέ.

με{ν} Reiske$^{1/2}$ (et Radt) : μὲν **A E FQ**

The pronoun με is necessary here because without it the text means "the emperor had a tribune in his company". Moreover, μέν is superfluous because the next clause merely continues the narration. The error is easily explained as *Echoschreibung* of the μέν's and δέ's in this sentence. Therefore I have accepted Reiske's conjecture which was also made independently by Stefan Radt.

7.18.2 (p. 237.24–26) τυραννίδος γὰρ δὴ φύλαξ χαλεπῆς εἰμι, κἂν μὲν σφήλω αὐτήν, δέδοικα τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν, σοὶ δ' ὅπως εὔνους εἰμί, δεδήλωκα· **ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν** ἀφ' ὧν, εἴρηκά που **τὸ** μηδ' ἂν παύσασθαί σε ἀγαπῶν, ἔστ' ἂν ᾖ **τὸ ἐκείνων μεμνῆσθαι**.

ὁ – ἀγαπῶν] ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἃ εἴρηκα, σαφῶς εἴρηκέ που μηδ' ἂν παύσασθαί σε ἀγαπῶν Jacobs^{3} : ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἃ σαφῶς εἴρηκα, τί ἄλλο ἢ μηδ' ἂν παύσασθαί σε ἀγαπῶν exempli gratia Jacobs^{5} ‖ ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν del. Reiske$^{1/2}$ ‖ post μεμνῆσθαι lacunam indicat Kayser^{1N} Kayser^{2Adn} Kayser^{2T} : "om. lac. signum et scrib. ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀφ' ὧν, εἴρηκά που κτέ" Kayser^{1C}, quem secutus sum

This sentence has caused much trouble but the text is sound. Reiske deletes ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν and reads (...) δεδήλωκα ἀφ' ὧν εἴρηκά που μηδ' ἂν παύσασθαί σε ἀγαπῶν κτέ. Jacobs proposes reading either ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἃ εἴρηκα, σαφῶς εἴρηκέ που κτέ or ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἃ σαφῶς εἴρηκα, τί ἄλλο ἢ μηδ' ἂν παύσασθαί σε ἀγαπῶν κτέ. Kayser^{1} indicates a lacuna in the text, with a note in the apparatus "Post μεμνῆσθαι lacunae signa posui" and a note on p. 194: "post μεμνῆσθαι desideratur verbum finitum pendens a participio ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν"; in the corrigenda at the end of the work (p. 79) he states: "om. lac. signum et scrib. ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀφ' ὧν, εἴρηκά που κτέ". In the 1870 edition again he indicates a lacuna in the text, stating "excidit nonnihil post μεμνῆσθαι" in the note. Obviously, in 1870 Kayser forgot to inspect his own corrigenda in the 1844 edition. In fact, the solution offered there appears to be correct to me: ἀγαπῶν at the end of the clause is used zeugmatically and its force extends to ἀφ' ὧν, which is elliptical. Thus Jones (who does not print a comma after ἀφ' ὧν) translates: "For when I mentioned what caused it, surely I conveyed that I will cherish you as long as I have those memories."

7.19 (p. 238.11) (...) καὶ νὴ Δία οὕτω φιλανθρώπως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχεις, ὡς ξυγκινδυνεύειν **ἡγεῖσθαί** μοι, λέξω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ νοῦν.

⟨...⟩ ἡγεῖσθαί Kayser^{2T} : ⟨δεῖν⟩ ἡγεῖσθαί Kayser^{2Adn} : αἱρεῖσθαί Radermacher

Translators render the clause ὡς ξυγκινδυνεύειν ἡγεῖσθαί μοι in three ways: 1. ἡγεῖσθαι is left untranslated (e.g. Jacobs: "dass Du dich selbst mit mir in Gefahr begibst"); 2. ἡγεῖσθαι is understood as "think" (e.g. Conybeare: "as to imagine you run a common risk with myself"); 3. ἡγεῖσθαι is understood as "to wish" (e.g. Mooij: "dat je in mijn gevaar

wilt delen"). Kayser thought that δεῖν should be added. Against this solution Schmid 4.359 argues that ἡγεῖσθαι alone can mean "to wish"; Schmid points to the similar use of οἴομαι. LSJ s.v. ἡγέομαι III.4 too state that simple ἡγεῖσθαι can stand for ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖν. Although this meaning of ἡγεῖσθαι is not universally accepted[206] I think it may well be possible, being comparable to phrases such as δοκεῖ μοι. Radermacher's αἱρεῖσθαι is more or less equivalent to ⟨δεῖν⟩ ἡγεῖσθαι. I think the text is best left as it is transmitted, whether we take it as "think" or as "wish".

7.19 (p. 238.17–18) δείσας δὲ προδότου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, **εἰ φύγω** μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀπόλοιντο δὲ οἱ δι' **ἐμὲ** κινδυνεύοντες, ἥκω ἀπολογησόμενος.

εἰ φύγω **A E** : ἤ φύγω **FQ** : ἢν φύγω Reiske$^{1/2}$: εἰ φύγοιμι Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} ‖ ἐμὲ Reiske^{2} : ἐμοῦ **A E FQ**

Philostratus has many irregularities with regard to the presence or absence of ἄν; see Schmid 4.89–90. Although the subjunctive without ἄν in a conditional clause seems to be strange even in Philostratus, I have not dared to change it into the optative with Kayser, because the change from an authentic φύγοιμι to a corrupt φύγω is very hard to explain, especially because it is followed by the optative ἀπόλοιντο. The older editions have ἤ φύγω with **FQ** which induced Reiske to conjecture ἢν φύγω.

In this context the required meaning of οἱ δι' ἐμὲ κινδυνεύοντες is without doubt "those who are running risks on my account". For this meaning the accusative seems to be obligatory. Schmid 4.627 remarks: "Vermischung der Konstruktionen διά c. gen. und διά c. acc. (...) kennen die Atticisten nicht, wohl aber (...) den durch einzelne attische Beispiele legitimierten Gebrauch von διά c. acc. statt ἕνεκα." This applies exactly to our passage and therefore it seems inescapable to accept Reiske's conjecture ἐμέ for the transmitted ἐμοῦ.

7.20.1 (p. 238.24) {τ}ὃ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον (γινώσκω γάρ, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἱερείων αἷμα ἀνέχῃ), τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον διαβάλλεται κτέ.

{τ}ὃ scripsi

In the transmitted text τὸ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον must be taken as the subject of the sentence, which results in a nonsensical meaning: "the least plausible to me and the most plausible to the Emperor is gossiped". There are three possible solutions. The first of these is to read τό⟨δε⟩ δέ; then τόδε is the subject and ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον is to be understood as the nominal part of the predicate. The corruption can be explained by haplography; moreover, it was prepared

206 Thus Rusten 1990, ad Th. 2.42.4 (p. 167), writes: "Stahl's suggestion (still repeated in LSJ s.v. ἡγέομαι III.4), that μᾶλλον ἡγεῖσθαι be taken together to mean 'prefer', is not supported by any true parallels."

by the two preceding instances of τὰ δ'. For the cataphoric use of τόδε cf. for instance 6.40.2 (p. 219.21–24) ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἐρᾶσθαι τόδε γινώσκω· θεοὶ θεῶν, ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων, θηρία θηρίων καὶ καθάπαξ ὅμοια ὁμοίων ἐρᾷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτυμα καὶ ξυγγενῇ τίκτειν κτέ; 7.1 (p. 222.3–4) ὁ λόγος δέ μοι ξυντείνει ἐς τόδε. κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς Δομετιανὸς ἐτυράννευσε, περιέστησαν τὸν ἄνδρα κατηγορίαι καὶ γραφαί κτέ. However, what pleads against this solution is the fact that in the present passage τόδε stands at the beginning of the phrase instead of at the end.

The second possibility is to delete διαβάλλεται; then the whole phrase τὸ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον is an introductory apposition to the following sentence starting with φασίν. For this type of phrase see KG 1.285–286, Anmerk. 8. A good parallel is found in Lucianus *JTr* 14 Ἀλλὰ νῦν, ὦ τέκνον, οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἐφεστώτων δεινῶν εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν παρόντων — πολυθεωτάτη γάρ, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἡ ἐκκλησία — διατετάραγμαι τὴν γνώμην καὶ ὑπότρομός εἰμι καὶ ἡ γλῶττά μοι πεπεδημένῃ ἔοικε· τὸ δὲ ἀτοπώτατον ἁπάντων, ἐπιλέλησμαι τὸ προοίμιον τῶν ὅλων, ὃ παρεσκευασάμην ὡς εὐπροσωποτάτη μοι ἡ ἀρχὴ γένοιτο πρὸς αὐτούς. The interpolation of διαβάλλεται might then be explained as resulting from the wish to add a verb to the phrase; διαβάλλουσι occurs a few lines earlier. But interpolation of διαβάλλεται is not very probable.

The third way of solving the problem is to change τό into ὅ. This is similar to the phrases discussed in KG 1.286 Anmerk. 9. A phrase of the type ὃ μὲν πάντων θαυμαστότατον ἀκοῦσαι is followed by a clause with ὅτι, γάρ, ὅτε/ὅταν or εἰ. Some instances: Pl. *R.* 491b7–8 Ὃ μὲν πάντων θαυμαστότατον ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι ἓν ἕκαστον ὧν ἐπῃνέσαμεν τῆς φύσεως ἀπόλλυσι τὴν ἔχουσαν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀποσπᾷ φιλοσοφίας, which is elliptical for τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι ἓν ἕκαστον κτέ; Isoc. 14.45 Ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, εἰ τοῖς μὲν συνεχῶς μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων γεγενημένοις δεδογμένον ὑμῖν ἐστιν βοηθεῖν κτέ. Occasionally, asyndeton is found, as at Lys. 19.33 ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὑποδέξασθαι παιδία ἔχουσαν πολλά, καὶ ταῦτα τρέφειν κτέ. A close parallel for our passage is found in Alciphr. 4.17.4 ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον ἤδη καὶ ἀφορητότατον τετόλμηκεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ γνώμην βουλομένη λαβεῖν τί μοι ποιητέον ἐπέσταλκά σοι· Τίμαρχον τὸν καλὸν οἶσθα τὸν Κηφισιάθεν. οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι πρὸς τὸν νεανίσκον οἰκείως ἔχειν ἐκ πολλοῦ κτέ: here πάντων δεινότατον ἤδη καὶ ἀφορητότατον is to be taken predicatively, just as ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον in our passage; and here too we find asyndeton. The corruption can be explained as the result of *Echoschreibung* of the three preceding instances of τά. The third solution is by far the simplest and therefore I have printed it.

7.20.2 (p. 239.3) ὁ γὰρ λαμβανόμενος τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ τοῦ προγινώσκειν ἐς τοῦτο δήπου ξυντείνει καὶ ταῦτά γε καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν ἐς **αὐτὸν** δοῦναί σοί φησι καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν θάρσος.

αὐτὸν Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : αὐτὰ **A E FQ** : αὐτ⟨οκράτορ⟩α Reiske^{1} (malit τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Schenkl^{2}) : "locus nondum expeditus est" Schenkl^{2}

The transmitted αὐτά cannot be kept because it leads to circular reasoning: it means that Apollonius' clothes, habits and foreknowledge led him to lawlessness with regard to these same things, which is nonsensical. Reiske suggests αὐτοκράτορα; Schenkl 1894, 122 states: "libri αὐτὰ, quod ex compendio scripturae αὐτοκράτορα ortum esse statuit Reiskius"; now this may well have been what Reiske had in mind but he does not state this in his note which is just "αὐτὰ] num αὐτοκράτορα". There are thirteen occurrences of the word αὐτοκράτωρ in *VA* but nowhere have I found it written by means of an abbreviation. Kayser conjectures αὐτόν, which refers to the emperor. The corruption of αὐτόν into αὐτά can be explained as *Echoschreibung* of the preceding ταῦτα. Schenkl is dissatisfied with αὐτόν but he does not explain why. Possibly he thought that ὁ λαμβανόμενος refers to the formal accuser who could not refer to the emperor by means of the simple αὐτόν; but in this context ὁ λαμβανόμενος may well refer to the emperor himself, who shared all the opinions held by the accuser, as becomes clear from what Aelian had just said. And thus I think that Kayser's conjecture must be accepted.

7.20.3 (p. 239.11–12) οὐ γὰρ ἂν διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐ κἀκείνοις, δι' ἃ κακὸς ἦν, ἀπηχθῆσθαι. Jones, who translates this sentence as "since there is no escaping the condemnation of good men too for your cowardice", states in a note that "[t]he Greek is uncertain". I don't think so. Jones' misgivings seem to have two causes: the meaning of κακός and the identity of κἀκείνοις. According to Jones, κακός means "cowardly" and κἀκείνοις refers to "good men". As to the latter, I think that the plural number of κἀκείνοις excludes the possibility that this refers to good men, who I suppose are identical with friends. Enemies are referred to first by the singular ἐχθρῷ but immediately after by the plural οἱ ἐχθροί while further on we find τὰ ἐχθρῶν, again in the plural; for a friend we only find the singular ἀνδρὸς φίλου. As to κακός, Jones probably thinks of the possibility that Apollonius would not have the courage to confront the emperor. I would interpret it rather as a synonym of πονηρός. The phrase κακὸς φαίνοιτο, used in the context of a friend, then, is only a stylistic variation of πονηρὸν δόξαι, used in the context of enemies. The reasoning of Apollonius' speech is as follows: "I have no problems in presenting myself to the Emperor because whatever accusations he will bring forward against me are inspired by personal grudges and not by real wickedness on my part. But presenting myself to you, who are my friend, is much more dangerous because, if you find fault with me, this will be a proof of real wickedness on my part. And if I'm really wicked I will not only incur your anger but that of my enemies as well, in which case their anger will be justified." The reasoning is complicated but the text is sound.

7.21.1 (p. 239.14) Ἐδόκει τῷ Αἰλιανῷ εὖ λέγειν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτοῦ ἐλάβετο ὡς μὴ ἂν ἐκπλαγέντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, **μηδ' ἂν** Γοργείη κεφαλὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἴροιτο.

μηδ' ἂν] μηδ' ἂν ⟨εἰ⟩ Kayser^{2}

Kayser must have taken offence at ἄν (= εἰ + ἄν) with the optative, which is impossible in Classical Greek. Schmid 4.90 finds Kayser's addition of εἰ unjustified; for a parallel he points to 4.38.2 (p. 138.4) where we read ἐὰν μὴ μετὰ κινδύνων γίγνοιντο. Moreover, the repeated ἄν followed by εἰ, as Kayser wants to have it, appears to be stylistically impossible. We would then expect just μηδ' εἰ.

7.21.1 (p. 239.19) ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δάμις ἀπομνημονεύει ἔργου ὁμοίου τε καὶ ἀνομοίου τῷ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν. **ὀστράκῳ** μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύνειν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, ἔξω δὲ τείχους ἤδη ὄντι προσελθόντα τῶν ἀγροίκων τινὰ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ γράφειν τι αὐτῷ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδην ὄστρακον.

ὀστράκῳ] ὄστρακα Reiske[1] : "aut ὄστρακον vel ὄστρακα leg. aut deesse aliquid post γὰρ videtur, e.c. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους" Reiske[2] (hoc et Lucarini)

Reiske took offence at the absence of a subject governing the infinitive ἐλαύνειν and therefore proposed either changing ὀστράκῳ into ὄστρακα or adding τοὺς Ἀθηναίους; the latter was also suggested independently by Lucarini. This seems unnecessary: the subject "the Athenians" is easily supplied from Ἀθήνησιν in the preceding clause.

7.21.1 (p. 239.22) ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὔτε τὸν ἄνδρα εἰδὼς οὔτ' **αὖ τὸ {τὸ}** γράφειν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου φθόνον κτέ.

αὖ τὸ {τὸ} scripsi : αὐτὸ τὸ **A E FQ**

There is no need why τὸ γράφειν should be highlighted by means of αὐτό; it is telling that it is absent in all translations. The corruption is easy to explain: first ΑΥΤΟ was misinterpreted as αὐτό; next τό was inserted because αὐτὸ γράφειν is impossible.

7.21.1 (p. 240.2) "καλῶς ποιῶν" εἶπεν "αὐτός **γε** σὺ καὶ ἡ σωθεῖσα **Ἔφεσος** πόλις."

γε **A E FQ** : τε Cobet ‖ ἔφεσος **A E FQ** : del. Cobet: Ἐφεσίων Kayser[2]

Although τε and γε are very often confused in the mss. I don't think that Cobet is right in replacing the transmitted γε with τε in this passage. γε gives extra emphasis to αὐτός. Here are some parallels for this use: Ar. *Nu.* 401 ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ γε νεὼν βάλλει καὶ Σούνιον, ἄκρον Ἀθηνέων; Thphr. *CP* 1.21.1 Ἐν ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς καρποῖς τὸ περικάρπιον πρότερον μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτός γε ὁ καρπὸς καὶ τὸ σπέρμα γίνεται; D.Chr. 31.160 ἐπεὶ αὐτούς γε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς πολιτευομένους οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις οὐδὲ Μυσῶν ἀπογόνους; Gal. *In Hippocratis librum de officina medici commentarii iii*, 18b.822.14–17 Kühn τρίτον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐπιθέντες κατὰ τὸ τοῦ σώματος μῆκος ἐντεταμένον, αὐτούς γε τοὺς ὑποκειμένους σφίγγοντα καὶ τὸ κατεαγὸς μέρος τῆς κλειδὸς πιλοῦντο.

Cobet 1859, 143 argues that ἔφεσος is an interpolation, adding in his characteristic manner: "Multa vidi additamenta insulsa et puerilia, nullum ferme vidi insulsius quam

hoc est." But there are parallels for the phrase; for Ephesus see Ael. fr. 49 λοιμὸς γὰρ τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πόλει ἐνήκμαζεν οἷος βαρύτατος, προμοίροις δὲ θανάτοις διεφθείροντο ἡ νεολαία. Therefore Kayser's conjecture Ἐφεσίων is superfluous as well.

7.21.2 (p. 240.5) ἴωμεν γὰρ ἔξω τείχους καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀποκόψω σου τὸν αὐχένα τῷ ξίφει, διαβέβληται ἡ αἰτία καὶ ἀφεῖσαι, ἦν δὲ **ἐκπτήξῃς** με καὶ μεθῶ τὸ ξίφος, θεῖόν τε ἀνάγκη νομίζεσθαί σε καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθέσι κρίνεσθαι.

ἐκπτήξῃς **A E** (desunt **FQ**) : ἐκπλήξῃς **A**$^{\text{lsl}}$

This is one of the passages where the *lectio difficilior* appears to be *potior*. The verb ἐκπλήσσω is found frequently and it makes perfect sense here. The compound ἐκπτήσσω, on the other hand, seems to be attested only at E. *Hec.* 179 (ἐξέπταξας, in a choral passage); the *simplex* πτήσσω is widely attested. The *lectio facilior* is transmitted here as a variant reading in **A**. As I have already repeatedly noted before, variant readings in **A** can be either transmitted readings or conjectures. In this case I think it is definitely a conjecture.

7.21.2 (p. 240.8) τοσῷδε μὲν δὴ ἀγροικότερος οὗτος τοῦ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύνοντος, ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα μασώμενός τε καὶ **ξὺν γέλωτι** κτέ.

ξὺν γέλωτι Kayser^{2} : ξυγγελῶν **A E FQ** Phot. : ἐγγελῶν Cobet

Cobet 1859, 143–144 is right in pointing out that the transmitted ξυγγελῶν cannot be correct because nobody can ξυγγελᾶν on his own. Cobet conjectures ἐγγελῶν, which is attractive in itself. However, I think that Kayser's ξὺν γέλωτι is to be preferred. There are many parallels for this phrase, also in Philostratus (*VA* 8.7.2 [p. 262.25]). The corruption of ξὺν γέλωτι to ξυγγελῶν can be explained as *Echoschreibung* of the preceding participle μασώμενος, which appears to me more probable than corruption of ἐγγελῶν into ξυγγελῶν, as Cobet postulates.[207]

7.23.2 (p. 241.27–28) μεμαντευμέναι δ' ἤδη καθ' ἡμῶν αἰτίαι, ὡς ὕβριν μὲν τίκτει πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον πλοῦτος, ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν αὐχένα ἵστησι καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἐγείρει νόμοις τε οὐκ ἐᾷ πείθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἳ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη φοιτῶσι, μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ κόρρης παίει **δουλούμενο{υ}ς** τοῖς χρήμασιν ἢ **ὑπερορῶν{τας}** αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ πλούτου.

δουλούμενο{υ}ς – ὑπερορῶν{τας} Reiske$^{1/2}$

207 For the confusion of σύν and ἐν Cobet refers to 6.21.5 (p. 207.18) ξὺν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπανελθεῖν τρίβωνι, where ξύν should be replaced by ἐν, according to Cobet, because the normal idiom is ἐν τρίβωνι and the like, and not σὺν τρίβωνι. This is refuted by, e.g., Babr. 1.65.7–8 Θαυμαστὸς εἶναι σὺν τρίβωνι βουλοίμην ἢ ζῆν ἀδόξως πλουσίᾳ σὺν ἐσθῆτι.

In the transmitted text both participles belong to the governors. For δουλουμένους this is no problem: they are enslaved by money or (if τοῖς χρήμασιν is interpreted as a metonymia) to the rich. But ὑπερορῶντας is impossible: it is taken as "to indulge", for instance by Westermann ("propter divitiarum potestatem eis indulgentes" and Conybeare ("connive at their crime, on account of the influence which wealth gives"). But ὑπερορᾶν cannot have this meaning; it is "*despise, disdain*" (LSJ s.v. II.2). Reiske's conjecture removes the difficulty: both participles belong to πλοῦτος, which either enslaves the governors by bribing them with money or despises them on account of the power derived from wealth.

7.23.3 (p. 242.4) ἐπεὶ δὲ τάλαντά μοι πεντακόσια ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς θείου, τοσοῦτον ἡ γνώμη μετέβαλεν, ὅσον **οἱ καταρτύοντες τῶν ἵππων καὶ μεταβάλλοντες** τοῦ ἀπαιδεύτου τε καὶ ἀκολάστου ἤθους.

οἱ καταρτύοντες τῶν ἵππων καὶ μεταβάλλοντες] οἱ καταρτυθέντες τῶν ἵππων καὶ μεταβαλόντες Reiske$^{1/2}$ (καταρτυθέντες et Valckenaer^{2} Van Wulfften Palthe)

Reiske does not explain why he wishes to change the transmitted present participles into aorist participles. Valckenaer refers to S. *Ant.* 477–478 σμικρῷ χαλινῷ δ' οἶδα τοὺς θυμουμένους | ἵππους καταρτυθέντας. Van Wulfften Palthe 1887, 68 also refers to this passage and he adds that although the perfect active κατήρτυκα can have intransitive meaning there are no instances of the intransitive use for other tenses. That may be true but the intransitive use of the present may well be Philostratus' invention, based on the perfect active; the influence of the immediately following intransitive active μεταβάλλοντες may have played a role here. And although it is probable that Philostratus had the passage from *Antigone* in mind, this does not mean that he may not have varied the tense of the participle. We should first and foremost look at the passage itself. The anonymous interlocutor states that the heritage of 500 talents turned him from a lighthearted young man into a thoughtful adult in one day. The event of this change is expressed by the aorist μετέβαλεν. The comparison with the bridled horses, however, is timeless; it only makes sense in this context if it refers to the process of bridling and not to the new situation.[208] Therefore the transmitted present is sound.

7.26.3 (p. 244.1–4) εἰ δ' οὔτε σὺ τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀχελῴῳ νῆσον ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορός φησιν ἐρεῖς ᾠκηκέναι, οὔτε σὺ τὸν σεαυτοῦ πλοῦτον ἔφεδρόν ποτε τῇ βασιλείᾳ **κτήσασθαι**, οὔθ'

208 Jones prints the aorist participles but translates them as if they are present: "full-grown horses that give up their untamed, unbridled ways".

ἑκὼν σὺ τοῦ **μητρὸς** Ἀθηνᾶς δοκεῖν ἀφῃρῆσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀφῖχθε κινδυνεύων ἕκαστος, ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἶναι φήσει, τί βούλεται,[209] **φασίν**, ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων θρῆνος οὗτος;

κτήσασθαι Reiske² (et Cobet) : στήσασθαι **A E FQ** ‖ μητρὸς Reiske¹/² : μὴ πρὸς **A E FQ** ‖ φασίν **A EQ** : φησίν **F**

Cobet 1859, 124 ingeniously suggests that the corruption of κτήσασθαι into στήσασθαι results from misreading IC as K, so that BACIΛEIAKTHCACΘAI (without the iota at the end of βασιλείᾳ) became BACIΛEIAICTHCACΘAI (with the iota). He further corroborates this conjecture by referring to 7.23.2 (p. 241.21–22) διαβάλλουσι δ' ἡμᾶς οἱ συκοφάνται μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκτῆσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον. Cobet had already been anticipated by Reiske, who (as often) gives no arguments in favour of his conjecture.

As to the transmitted μὴ πρός, the meaning of the passage is clear: the prisoner in question did not deliberately deprive Domitian of being the son of Athena. In the transmitted text μή can only be explained as being redundant in combination with ἀφῃρῆσθαι. The apparently redundant use of μή with verbs of denying, preventing and the like is described in KG 2.207–209. But there are two arguments against this interpretation of μή in our passage. In the first place there are no instances of ἀφαιρεῖσθαι with redundant μή and in the second place the infinitive with μή always follows the main verb on which it depends. Therefore μή cannot be maintained. Reiske's μητρός for μὴ πρός is excellent: it perfectly suits the sense and the error is easily explained by misreading T for Π and/or by (inner) dictation.

All the editions, following **F**, have φησίν, which appears very awkward, coming so long after Apollonius' speech had started with εἶπεν (p. 243.16). Indeed, I know of no parallel for such a repetition of an *inquit* formula so long after the beginning of a speech. The other mss. have the plural φασίν, which highlights the idiomatic use of τί βούλεται in the sense of "what is the meaning of X?" (LSJ s.v. III.1).[210] For this use of the formulaic φασί in Philostratus see for instance 1.34.2 (p. 33.27–34.1) αἰτήσεις μὲν γὰρ ἴσως οὐδέν, τὸ δ' ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἄλλῳ, φασί, τύφῳ παραιτεῖσθαι δοκοίης κτέ.

7.26.4 (p. 244.9) ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν εἰδὼς φύσιν ἀναδιδάξω λόγον ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις· καὶ γὰρ ἰσχὺν **ἐντίθησι** καὶ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐάσει.

ἐντίθησι **A E F**[1pc]**Q** : ἐντίθηση **F**[ac1] : ἐνθήσει Cobet

Cobet 1859, 145 rightly points out that in this passage Philostratus imitates Demosthenes' Third Olynthian speech (§33)[211] καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖν' οὔτε ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησιν οὔτ' ἀποθνήσκειν ἐᾷ. Cobet argues that in our passage the future ἐνθήσει should be restored; the present ἐντίθησι, so Cobet argues, is due to comparison with the Demosthenic original,

209 In my edition I wrongly printed βούλεταί.

210 This passage is the only one in the Philostratean corpus in which the phrase τί βούλεται is used in this specific sense.

211 In the *apparatus fontium* in my edition I wrongly reported that the reference is to §8.

while the future ἐάσει remained intact. This seems too far-fetched to me: the variation between present and future may well be due to Philostratus.

7.27 (p. 245.12) τὸ μὲν δὴ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ, κατηφὴς ἐδόκει καὶ κινδυνεύειν τι, ὡς ἔφασκε, μέγα, γλώττης **τε** οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδεύτως εἶχεν κτέ.

τε] δ' Westermann : δὲ Jones

Westermann's conjecture is wrongly based on the supposition that δέ is necessary to answer μέν. In reality, the transmitted τε continues the description of the informer and μέν is picked up by δέ in ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος κτέ (l. 13): the informer looked like a real prisoner and had some standard stories but he could not fool Apollonius.

7.28.3 (p. 246.12) καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "Ὀδυσσεὺς μέντοι" ἔφη "παριὼν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πολυφήμου ἄντρον καὶ **μήτε** ὁπόσος ἐστί, προακηκοὼς πρότερον, μηδ' οἷα σιτεῖται, μηδ' ὡς βροντᾷ ἡ φωνή, ἐθάρρησέ τε αὐτὸν κτέ.

μήτε] μηδ' Jones

Jones' conjecture is not necessary. See note on 2.22.3 (p. 57.21).

7.29 (p. 246.23) "πρὸς τίνα οὖν" ἔφη "ταῦτα εἴπω;" "πρὸς τοὺς ἄξοντάς με," εἶπεν "χρὴ γάρ που **{ὡς}** ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου φοιτᾶν."

ὡς delevi

Apollonius reasons that the secretary might do better by informing those who would lead him to the emperor than by telling himself that the emperor wanted to see him because Apollonius does not have the possibility to leave the prison on his own account. I don't see how ὡς can be maintained; "as if from prison" is nonsensical. I suppose that ὡς results from a variant reading for που; ως may have been added above ου, meant to be understood as πως. This variant reading was misunderstood which lead to the addition of ὡς in the text. One might also argue the other way round, so that πως is the original reading with ου added above the line. But the fact that there are only four occurrences of πως in Philostratus against 158 occurrences of που induces me to keep που.

7.31.1 (p. 247.21–22) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὕπνου ἔσπασε κομιδῇ βραχὺ καὶ ὅσον ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἦλθεν, ἡμέρα δ' ὡς ἐγένετο, προσευξάμενος τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ὡς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ εἰκός, διελέγετο τοῖς προσιοῦσιν, ὁπόσα ἠρώτων, καὶ **οὔπω** ἀγορᾶς πληθούσης ἀφικνεῖται γραμματεὺς κελεύων ἐπὶ **θύρας** ἤδη **εἶναι** "μὴ καὶ θᾶττον" ἔφη "ἐσκληθῶμεν."

οὔπω Hamaker : οὕτως **A E FQ** ‖ θύρας] αις $\mathbf{A}^{\text{isl}}$ (= θύραις) ‖ εἶναι] ἰέναι Hamaker

The context makes clear that the secretary must have come to the prison early because Domitian might choose to call Apollonius in before the appointed time. This is expressed adequately by Hamaker's conjecture οὔπω ἀγορᾶς πληθούσης, "before the time the market fills". For the corruption of οὔπω into οὕτως Hamaker refers to 4.4 (p. 111.23) οὔπω ἀνοιδούσης τῆς νόσου where **E F** have οὕτως for οὔπω.

In my note on 2.30.2 (p. 63.8) I have already discussed the phenomenon that Philostratus often has expressions for "whither" instead of "where". This applies here as well; the supralinear reading θύραις in **A** is an attempt at normalization. On the other hand, we would rather expect ἰέναι, "to go to", than εἶναι, "to be present at", and indeed Hamaker conjectured ἰέναι for the transmitted εἶναι. However, although the two infinitives can be easily confused, it is difficult to explain how an authentic ἰέναι would have been corrupted into εἶναι, preceded by ἐπί with the accusative. And in itself, the static εἶναι might seem to point at greater urgency than the dynamic ἰέναι, implying that Apollonius should already have been there.

7.31.3 (p. 248.13) "δοκεῖς μοι,"[212] ἔφη "ὦ Δάμι, καὶ τὸν Αἰακόν, **ὅσπερ** ἐν Ἅιδου λέγεται, φρουρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τουτωνὶ τῶν πυλῶν εἶναι· τεθνεῶτι γὰρ δὴ ἔοικας."

ὅσπερ **A**[1sl] : ὥσπερ **A FQ** : ὥισπερ **E**

With ὥσπερ the text means that Aeacus, in addition to his role of gatekeeper in Hades, plays the same role in Domitian's palace. With ὅσπερ the meaning is that Damis wrongly believes that Aeacus is the gatekeeper of Domitian's palace instead of Hades' gatekeeper. The latter is stronger: it implies that according to Apollonius Damis believes that he is actually entering Hades. For the confusion of the homophonous words ὅσπερ and ὥσπερ see 7.34 (p. 250.20) where **E** has ὥσπερ for ὅσπερ.

7.32.3 (p. 249.16) "μὴ ἀπολογοῦ," εἶπεν "ἀδικῶν γὰρ εἴληπται. ἀλλ' **ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς** ἀδικεῖς ξυνειδὼς ἐκείνῳ τοιαῦτα, τοῦτό με ἀναδίδασκε."

ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς Hamaker (et Madvig Van Wulfften Palthe) : οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς **A E FQ** : ὡς αὐτὸς οὐκ Cobet

The meaning of the sentence is clear: Domitian forbids Apollonius to speak in defense of Nerva and invites him to defend himself instead. The problem is the position of the negation in the second part of the sentence. KG 2.180, Anmerk. 2 remark: "Wenn aber die Negation vor dem Artikel oder dem Relative oder einer Konjunktion oder Präposition steht, so darf man keine Versetzung annehmen, sondern die Negation wird deshalb vorausgeschickt, weil ein Gegensatz in Gedanken ergänzt werden muss." Unfortunately they do not give instances of passages where the negation precedes a conjunction. And while KG state that there may be an implied antithesis we find here an antithesis which

212 In my edition, I wrongly did not print a comma after δοκεῖς μοι.

is expressed. I have not found any parallel for the word order οὐχ ὡς as it is used in our passage and therefore I have accepted Hamaker's correction. The corruption may be due to the fact that there are many instances of ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς.

7.33.2 (p. 250.2) ἀνοιδήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, "συκοφάντην με οὖν" εἶπεν "ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἴληφας, ἵν' οὓς ἐγὼ μιαρωτάτους ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιπηδῶντας εὗρον, σὺ δ' ὡς χρηστοί τέ εἰσι **λέγῃς** καὶ **νωθροί**;"

λέγῃς Reiske$^{1/2}$: λέγεις **E FQ** : om. **A** ‖ post νωθροὶ add. διατείνῃ **A**$^{\text{lmg}}$

The presentation of the text in Kayser's 1870 edition is misleading in this passage. He prints λέγεις between round brackets, which in his system indicates a conjectural addition. This has misled Schmid 4.89, who remarks: "Kayser ergänzt hier λέγεις". In the 1844 edition Kayser defended the absence of λέγεις in **A** as iconic for the emperor's anger but in the 1870 edition he changed his mind and printed λέγεις in his text, wrongly placing it in round brackets. Schmid 4.110 mentions our passage in a series of passages where a *verbum dicendi* is absent; in 4.89 he calls the absence of a verb after ἵνα "eigentümlich" and he offers no parallels. And indeed the absence of a *verbum dicendi* is unacceptable in this passage. The addition of διατείνῃ in the margin of **A** is probably a conjectural attempt to remedy the intolerable ellipse of a predicate. It is remarkable that the scribe who added it chose such an exquisite verb as διατείνεσθαι. Although this might induce us to regard this reading as authentic I have not ventured to print this marginal addition at the expense of the more trivial verb λέγειν, which stands in the text of **E FQ**.

Reiske rightly saw that the transmitted indicative λέγεις is impossible after ἵνα and he proposes reading the subjunctive λέγῃς. The meaning of ἵνα here is not strictly final but could rather be labelled as consecutive: "So you take me to be accusing them falsely ... with the consequence that (= and therefore) you call those people ...". For the consecutive use of ἵνα cf. Schmid 4.87–88 and LSJ s.v. B.II.1 *ad finem*.

7.33.3 (p. 250.8) ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκπλαγεὶς "αἰσχρόν," ἔφη "βασιλεῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἢ δικάζειν ὑπὲρ ὧν **πέπεισαι** ἢ πεπεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐδίκασας."

πέπεισαι] ⟨μὴ⟩ πέπεισαι vel οὔπω πέπεισαι Reiske^{1}

From a stylistic point of view Reiske's addition of μή before πέπεισαι is attractive because ὑπὲρ ὧν ⟨μὴ⟩ πέπεισαι runs parallel to the following ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐδίκασας. But with regard to the content it is not convincing. Reiske (who is followed by Schenkl and Jones) probably takes the text with the addition of μή as "It is a disgrace and a violation of the laws, Majesty, to decide a case when you are not yet convinced, or to be convinced when you have not yet decided" (Jones). In itself, this is true. But it is not the point at issue here. What Apollonius condemns is trying a case on an issue about which one already has a firm opinion: this inevitably leads to a show trial. It is noteworthy that Apollonius uses the present infinitive δικάζειν, with the imperfective aspect, which is used to present

the trial as an ongoing process, focusing on its internal components, which include such things as carrying out investigations, hearing witnesses and so on. The meaning "to try a case" is also relevant in the second part of the sentence. There the point is not that it is unjust "to be convinced when you have not yet decided" (Jones) but "... when you have not tried the case", that is, when you have not made the proper investigations which lead up to forming a judgement; the aorist ἐδίκασας, therefore, means "you have tried the case" and not "you have passed judgement". The correct translation is given, e.g., by Jacobs: "(...) oder ein Ueberzeugung zu hegen von Etwas, was Du nicht untersucht hast". This interpretation is corroborated by what Apollonius says further on: σὺ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι πέπεισαι, where ἀκοῦσαι (= hearing the accuser, the witnesses and the defendant himself) is part of the trial (δικάζειν). Here are two parallels for the collocation δικάζειν περί (which is equivalent to ὑπέρ) in the sense of "to try a case": Isoc. 18.34 Περὶ ταύτης δύ' ὅρκους ὀμόσαντες δικάζετε, "In trying this case you are bound by two oaths" (tr. Van Hook); Lys. 14.4 εἰκὸς τοίνυν ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐξ οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιησάμεθα, πρῶτον περὶ τούτων νυνὶ δικάζοντας μὴ μόνον δικαστὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοθέτας αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι, "Now it is reasonable, gentlemen of the jury, that men who are now trying such a case for the first time since we settled the peace should act not merely as jurors, but in fact as law-makers" (tr. Lamb). With the transmitted text Domitian is guilty of two offences. The first clause states that Domitian wants to try a case on which he has already a firm conviction (namely that Apollonius is guilty), whereas a good judge starts a case without having an opinion; cf. 8.7.2 (p. 262.21–22) δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὴ προκαταγινώσκειν μηδὲ καθῆσθαι πεπεισμένον, ὡς ἐγώ τί σε κακὸν εἴργασμαι. The second clause expresses that Domitian's conviction is not based on a thorough investigation of the matter, as a judge's firm conviction must be. I conclude that neither of Reiske's conjectures should be accepted.

7.35 (p. 250.24–251.1) Τὸν μὲν δὴ προάγωνα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὃς **δὴ** ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἰδίᾳ, τοιόνδε διαγράφει ὁ Δάμις, οἱ δὲ βασκάνως ταῦτα ξυνθέντες ἀπολελογῆσθαι μὲν αὐτόν φασι πρότερον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτε **δὴ ⟨καὶ⟩** κείρασθαι, καί τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέπλασαν ξυγκειμένην μὲν Ἰωνικῶς, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἄχαρι κτέ.

δὴ post ὃς del. Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} ‖ δὴ ⟨καὶ⟩ scripsi

Kayser probably thought that the second δή is due to *Echoschreibung* but an exact parallel for the occurrence of two δή's in this sentence is furnished by *VS* 2.5.26.4 (p. 84.4–5 Stefec) ξυνελέγοντο μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ θέατρον, ὃ δὴ ἐπωνόμασται Ἀγριππεῖον.

In the transmitted text the phrase ὅτε δὴ κείρασθαι serves to indicate the time at which Apollonius' being put into fetters took place. But Apollonius' being shorn and being put into fetters were two methods of humiliating Apollonius. If any hierarchy between the two should be established being put into fetters should count as more important than being shorn and therefore it would be strange to see the shearing as the point of reference for the putting into fetters. I therefore assume that καί has fallen out before

κείρασθαι as the result of haplography, και and κει being very similar in both sound and script. It is telling that in some translations the word "also" is added: "als man ihm auch das Haar abgeschnitten habe" (Jacobs), "at the same time that he was also shorn" (Conybeare), "en toen ook is kaalgeschoren" (Mooij).

7.35 (p. 251.9) ἀλλὰ μήπω τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, **ἐπεὶ** καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ κουρᾷ καὶ ἄττα διελέχθη λεγέσθω πρότερον· ἄξια γὰρ σπουδάσαι.

ἐπεὶ Jones : ἔτι **A E FQ** : ἔτι γὰρ vel ἔτι δὲ Reiske[2]

If the transmitted text is sound there is explicative asyndeton, which according to Schmid 4.520–521 is frequent in Philostratus. But although asyndeton is not impossible here it is harsh. Reiske adds a conjunctive particle; Jones conjectures ἐπεί for ἔτι. In itself, ἔτι is not well placed here. ἔτι καί (with καί as Focus particle) means "and in addition", for instance at 1.40 (p. 38.17–19) Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰπὼν καὶ τυχὼν αὐτοῦ προθύμου πράττειν ἃ ξυνεβούλευεν, ἔτι καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μάγους ξυνουσίας ἱκανῶς ἔχων "ἄγε, ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη κτέ. Further, πρότερον at the end of the sentence is superfluous after ἔτι; it won't help to take the two words closely together because ἔτι πρότερον means "still earlier", which will not do here. I therefore think that Jones' conjecture is necessary. The corruption is easily explained by the similarity of Π and Τ and because of the homophony of -ι and -ει. For the sequence μήπω ... ἐπεί see Eus. *in Isaiam* 1.58.26–27 μήπω με καλεῖτε ἄρχοντα μηδὲ κύριον, ἐπεὶ μηδέπω πάσας εἴληφα τὰς ἁπανταχοῦ χώρας.

7.36.2 (p. 251.20) "τὸ δὲ σκέλος πῶς" ἔφη "καρτερεῖ;" "οὐκ οἶδα," εἶπεν "ὁ γὰρ νοῦς πρὸς ἑτέροις ἐστί." "καὶ μὴν πρὸς **τὸ ἀλγοῦν**" ἔφη "ὁ νοῦς."

τὸ ἀλγοῦν **A E FQ** : τῷ ἀλγοῦντι Kayser^{1C} Kayser^{2T}

Normally, "to be engaged with" is expressed by εἶναι πρός with the dative but there are cases where the accusative is used; LSJ s.v. εἰμί C.IV.6 refer to Plb. 1.26.3 ὄντων δὲ τῶν μὲν πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ βιάζεσθαι, and Teles p. 46.2–3 Hense οὐκέτι οὗτος πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν ἢ ζητεῖν τι ἐστίν. It is not easily explained how an original τῷ ἀλγοῦντι might have been corrupted into τὸ ἀλγοῦν after the preceding dative πρὸς ἑτέροις. Therefore I have kept the transmitted τὸ ἀλγοῦν in our passage. Once more, we should be reluctant to impose regularity on the text.

7.36.2 (p. 251.24–25) πάλιν δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς χαίτας ἀνακαλοῦντος καὶ περιάγοντος ἐς αὐτὰς τὸν λόγον, "**ὤνησαι**," ἔφη "νεανίσκε, μὴ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Ἀχαιῶν εἷς γενόμενος, ὡς σφόδρα ἄν μοι δοκεῖς τὰς Ἀχιλλείους κόμας **ὀλοφύρασθαι** Πατρόκλῳ τιμηθείσας, εἰ δὴ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ λειποθυμῆσαι δ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐταῖς."

ὤνησαι **A** : ὤνησο **E FQ** ‖ ὀλοφύρασθαι Laur.CS.155 : ὀλοφύρεσθαι **A E FQ**

The meaning of the word ὄνησαι/ὄνησο in this context is clear: "it is lucky for you". The earlier editions read ὀνήσω, the second person indicative middle of the sigmatic aorist. However, ὄνησο might be taken as a form of the second aorist; for instance in Theognis 1380 we find the aorist form ὀνήμην. Moeris ω 5 has the lemma ὄνησο Ἀττικοί· ὠφέλησο Ἕλληνες, which shows that he regards the form as pluperfect. The form ὄνησαι must be understood here as the second person perfect indicative middle. Usually, ὄνησαι is second person aorist imperative middle of ὀνέομαι. A TLG search gives only two passages where ὄνησαι must be understood as a form of ὀνίναμαι: Procop. *Arc.* 2.6 οὐ μὴν οὐδέ του τῶν αὐτοῦ ὄνησαι. ἦν γὰρ τὰ ἐς τὴν οὐσίαν οὐ λίαν εὐδαίμων, and Plethon *Contra scholarii pro Aristotele obiectiones* §31 line 120 Maltese εἰ μὲν οὖν ὄνησαί τι τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν τουτοισὶ λόγοις. This should not prevent us from accepting the form in this meaning in our passage. The perfect suits the context much better than the aorist and the pluperfect.

In itself, the present infinitive ὀλοφύρεσθαι is possible but the parallel infinitive λειποθυμῆσαι shows that the scribe of (a predecessor of) Laur.CS.155 was right in writing the aorist infinitive ὀλοφύρασθαι.

7.37 (p. 253.5–7) ὁ Πύθων ταῦτα **ῥέων**, ὥς φασιν, ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἀντειπὼν θρασυνομένῳ μόνος τὸ ἀνασχεῖν αὐτὸν τάττει ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ **ἄθλοις**.

ῥέων] ⟨διῄει πολὺς⟩ ῥέων Reiske[1] : ⟨πολὺς⟩ ῥέων vel ⟨διῄει πολὺς⟩ ῥέων Reiske[1/2] (illud et Toup[1]) : ⟨δημηγο⟩ρέων Aldina ‖ ἄθλοις Westermann : λόγοις **A E FQ** : ἐπαίνοις vel simile Bentley : ἀξιολόγοις Kayser[1App]

For the transmitted ῥέων the older editions read δημηγορέων, which is definitely a conjecture. Reiske, remarking that the uncontracted ending of this word is irregular, suggests πολὺς ῥέων or ⟨διῄει πολὺς⟩ ῥέων, referring to the famous passage in Demosthenes' speech *On the Crown* (18.136) τότ' ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, a passage which Philostratus obviously has in mind here. In *VS* praef. 3.4 (p. 3.13–15 Stefec) Philostratus refers to the same passage: οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου Πύθωνος, ὃν Δημοσθένης μόνος Ἀθηναίων ἀνασχεῖν φησι θρασυνόμενον καὶ πολὺν ῥέοντα. The phrase πολλῷ ῥέοντι is quoted and imitated by a number of later authors. See for instance Plu. *Alc.* 21.7 ὥσπερ σχολάζοντι τῷ θυμῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὅλος ἐρρύη; Plu. *Dem.* 9.1 πῶς δὲ Πύθωνι τῷ Βυζαντίῳ, θρασυνομένῳ καὶ ῥέοντι πολλῷ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀναστὰς μόνος ἀντεῖπεν; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3.44.3 εἶτα δὲ μὴ ἀνακοπεῖσα, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐπίδοσιν ἐλθοῦσα καὶ πολλὴ δὴ ῥυεῖσα; Tz. *Chil.* 6.38.201–202 Ὅστις πολλῷ τῷ Πύθωνι ῥέοντι, δῆλον λόγοις, οὐκ εἶξα οὐδ' ἐχώρησα, οὐ νίκην εἶπεν ἔσχον. On one occurrence ῥέων goes unaccompanied by πολύς, namely Lib. *Decl.* 19.1.30 τῷ Πύθωνι ῥέοντι καὶ θυμὸν πολὺν ἀντιφέροντι πρὸς τὸ πῦρ συνηγώνισμαι; Because the Libanius passage shows that ῥέω can be used in this context without a form of πολύς and because it is difficult to see why the word would have been left out I refrain from adding πολύς in our passage. Arjan Nijk has suggested to me that the addition of ὥς φασιν may be an argument in favour of single ῥέων, because it indicates that the word has a proverbial ring.

The transmitted τάττει ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις is impossible: it could only mean "he places it in his speeches". From the context it is clear that some positive statement is needed. Westermann's solution is simple and effective. ἆθλον in the next sentence is to be understood as an echo of τάττει ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἄθλοις: "Demosthenes may have ranked this among his feats; that is not what I am doing with my behaviour towards the Syracusian". The corruption of ἄθλοις into λόγοις may be explained as the result of mental association, Demosthenes being the most famous Greek orator of all time.

7.38.2 (p. 253.18) καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐξήγαγε τὸ σκέλος τοῦ δεσμοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν "**ἐπίδειξιν" ἔφη** "πεποίημαί σοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ θάρρει."

ἐπίδειξιν ἔφη Reiske[1] : ἔφη ἐπίδειξιν **A E FQ** : ⟨ταύτην⟩ ἔφη ἐπίδειξιν Reiske[2]

Reiske's transposition of the transmitted ἔφη ἐπίδειξιν is motivated by the observation that Philostratus never places ἔφη before the first word of a reported speech. An exact parallel for our passage is found at 8.14 (p. 286.12–13) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν "αἰσθάνῃ" ἔφη "νεὼς ἀφιείσης ἐς Σικελίαν;" This solution is much more attractive than what Reiske suggested in his second set of notes, namely to add ταύτην (without τήν) after πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν.

7.39.1 (p. 254.4–6) Οἱ δὲ εὐηθέστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τοὺς γόητας ἀναφέρουσι ταῦτα, πεπόνθασι δ' αὐτὸ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων. δέονται μὲν γὰρ **αὐτῆς** ἀθληταί, δέονται δὲ ἀγωνισταὶ πάντες διὰ τὸ νικᾶν γλίχεσθαι, καὶ ξυλλαμβάνει μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν νίκην οὐδέν, ἃ δὲ ἀπὸ **τύχης** νικῶσι, ταῦθ' οἱ κακοδαίμονες αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι λογίζονται τῇ τέχνῃ ταύτῃ.

αὐτῆς **A E FQ** : αὐτῆς τῆς γοητείας **A**[1il] : αὐ⟨τῶν⟩ τῆς ⟨τέχνης⟩ Kayser[2] : {αὐ}τῆς ⟨τέχνης ταύτης⟩ Jones : fortasse αὐτῶν ‖ τύχης **A E FQ** : τέχνης Jacobs[6]

Kayser and Jones supply τέχνης to αὐτῆς. In Kayser's conjecture the position of αὐτῶν is impossible. Jones' conjecture is probably based on τῇ τέχνῃ ταύτῃ, which stands a few lines further; but it seems improbable that Philostratus should have used this same phrase twice in succession. I think that the addition of the word is not necessary. I agree with Olearius, who writes with regard to αὐτῆς: "sc. γοητείας. Nempe orationem ita instruit, ac si non ἐς γόητας [*sic*, without τούς — GJB], sed ἐς γοήτειαν praecessisset, opera, ut puto, data, variegandae orationis causa." This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that γόητας is accompanied by the generic article. For Philostratus' frequent use of metonymia see Schmid 4.478, 4.493–495. The infralinear addition of τῆς γοητείας in **A** must be regarded as a gloss and not as a supplement to the text. If the need is felt to correct the transmitted text we might think of replacing αὐτῆς with αὐτῶν; the change of αὐτῶν into αὐτῆς, then, may have been caused by the following singular ξυλλαμβάνει.

In this chapter Philostratus discusses the exaggerated value many people attach to the effects of magic. They ascribe their failures to themselves and their successes to magic. Thus sportsmen give magic the credit for the victories they obtain. In the transmitted

text these victories are characterized as occurring ἀπὸ τύχης. Jacobs argues that ἀπὸ τύχης is in flat contradiction with the phrase αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι in the sequel: whatever the sportsmen win they ascribe to magic, thus depriving themselves of the credit. Therefore Jacobs proposes ἀπὸ τέχνης, which he translates as "durch die Kunst". With this conjecture the τέχνη of the sportsmen is contrasted with the τέχνη of the magicians, referred to as τῇ τέχνῃ ταύτῃ further on. However, if a contrast between the two τέχναι were at issue, we would expect a modifier with ἀπὸ τέχνης, such as ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν τέχνης. Kayser[1], in his note (p. 195), renders ἀπὸ τύχης as "felix artis successus", Westermann has "felici successu", for which see LSJ s.v. III.1, *"good fortune, success"*. With this pregnant meaning of τύχη there are three factors at issue: magic, the skill of the victorious sportsmen and the good luck every sportsman needs to obtain victory. And thus I have decided to accept the transmitted text.

7.39.1 (p. 254.11) φοιτᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ἐμπόρων κατὰ ταὐτά· καὶ γὰρ δὴ κἀκείνους εὕροιμεν ἂν τὰ μὲν **χρηστὰ** τῆς ἐμπορίας λογιζομένους τῷ γόητι, τὰ δὲ ἄτοπα τῇ αὑτῶν φειδοῖ καὶ τῷ μὴ ὁπόσα ἔδει θῦσαι.

χρηστὰ exempli gratia Westermann (et Madvig) : χρήματα **A E FQ** : χρηματοποιὰ exempli gratia Westermann : εὐτυχήματα Kayser[2] : λήμματα Miller

The unanimously transmitted χρήματα cannot be correct because an antonym of ἄτοπα is needed. χρηστά, conjectured by Westermann and Madvig independently, suits the context perfectly. Madvig rightly points out that in Philostratus ἄτοπος is regularly used in the sense of "bad"; he draws attention to 8.22 (p. 291.5–6) ἀποπλύνων βαφῆς ἀτόπου. At 1.7.1 (p. 7.3–4) the two words ἄτοπος and χρηστός are found in combination: ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν διδασκάλου εἶχετο, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἦθος ἄτοπόν τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ οὐ χρηστὸν ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι.

7.39.2 (p. 254.16) νοσοῦντες γὰρ εὐπαράγωγον οὕτω νόσον, ὡς καὶ γραϊδίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς διαλέγεσθαι, θαυμαστόν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν πράττουσι προσιόντες τοῖς σοφισταῖς τούτοις καὶ ἀκροώμενοί σφων τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἳ κεστόν τε αὐτοῖς φέρειν **δώσουσι** καὶ λίθους κτέ.

δώσουσι **E FQ** : δίδωσι **A** : διδοῦσι Kayser[1/2]

The future in the description of a regular habit is found repeatedly in Herodotus, as is demonstrated by KG 1.172, Anmerk. 1; see for instance Hdt. 1.198 ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου λοῦνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἅψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. I assume that Philostratus imitates Herodotus here. **A**'s δίδωσι is a clumsy attempt to restore the present, induced by misunderstanding the exceptional use of the future here.

7.40 (p. 255.11) ὃν γὰρ δὴ πόθον ἴσχουσι πατρὸς παῖδες ἐς νουθετήσεις καθισταμένου σφισὶν ἡδείας τε καὶ ξυμμέτρους ἢ τὰ ἐφ' ἡλικίας **αὖ ἑρμηνεύοντος**, τὸν αὐτὸν κἀκεῖνοι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου εἶχον καὶ ὡμολόγουν ταῦτα, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἀεί τι ξυμβουλεύων.

αὖ ἑρμηνεύοντος **A FQ** : ἂν ἑρμηνεύοντος **E** : ἀφερμηνεύοντος Jacobs[3]

The transmitted αὖ ἑρμηνεύοντος is perfectly acceptable, αὖ emphasizing the switch to another subject. With the majority of translators I interpret the phrase τὰ ἐφ' ἡλικίας as "adventures of his youth" (Jones) rather than "was ihrem Alter entspricht" (Mumprecht; similarly Mooij). Therefore Jacobs' conjecture is unnecessary.

7.42.1 (p. 256.5) μειράκιον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Μεσήνης τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ περίβλεπτον ὥρᾳ ἀφικέσθαι **τι ἐς** τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐρᾶν δ' αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς μέν, Δομετιανὸν δὲ παρὰ πάντας κτέ.

τι ἐς **FQ** : τί ἐς **E** : ἐς **A**

The position of τι is remarkable, separated from its noun μειράκιον by an unusually large hyperbaton. For a less drastic hyperbaton of indefinite pronoun and noun Schmid 4.517 refers to 6.7 (p. 185.15) Ἐνταῦθά τι ἀναγράφει Δάμις Εὐφράτου ἔργον.[213] Because the interpolation of τι in our passage is hard to explain and because its deliberate omission may well result from the unusual hyperbaton I have retained the word.

7.42.1 (p. 256.9) εἰ μὲν δὴ χρυσοῦ κατεφρόνησεν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἵππων ἢ τοιούτων δελεασμάτων, οἷς ὑπάγονται τὰ παιδικὰ ἔνιοι, μὴ **ἐπαινῶμεν**· χρὴ γὰρ οὕτω παρεσκευάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα.

ἐπαινῶμεν **A** : ἐπαινῶ μὲν **E** : ἐπαίνω μὲν **FQ**

The first person plural is to be interpreted as an instance of so-called metalepsis, that is, the narrator ("Philostratus") invites his narratees ("us") to share his position.[214] A similar case of metalepsis can be found in the opening sentence of book 8 (p. 258.1–2), Ἴωμεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀκροασόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας. The only possible alternative is to read μὴ ἐπαινῶ μέν, which we find in **E**, but then ἐπαινῶ is indicative and μή must be regarded as standing for οὐ which, though not unparalleled in the Second Sophistic, is very rare in main clauses; Schmid 4.91 quotes only one instance in Philostratus, namely 2.11.1 (p. 47.7) καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ ἡ μάστιξ σοφοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἱππέως.

7.42.3 (p. 256.23) ὁ δ' ὥσπερ οὐ ξυνιείς, ὃ λέγει, "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη "μειράκιον, μὴ γλαυκὸν ἡγεῖταί σε ὁ βασιλεὺς καίτοι μελανόφθαλμον, ὡς ὁρῶ, ὄντα, ἢ στρεβλὸν τὴν ῥῖνα καίτοι

213 Schmid's reference to another instance at p. 240.25 in Kayser[2] must be a typographical error which I have been unable to correct.

214 For metalepsis in Greek literature see De Jong 2009.

τετραγώνως ἔχοντα, καθάπερ τῶν ἑρμῶν οἱ **γεγυμνασμένοι**, ἢ τὴν κόμην ἕτερόν τι παρ' ὅ ἐστιν;"

γεγυμνασμένοι **A E FQ** : γεγλυμμένοι Conybeare : ⟨μὴ⟩ λελυμασμένοι Phillimore

The transmitted phrase τῶν ἑρμῶν οἱ γεγυμνασμένοι is rendered in various ways; some instances: "Hermae in quibus maxima arte fuit elaboratum" (Olearius), "Hermen der Kampfschule" (Jacobs), "Mercurii simulacra certamine exculti" (Westermann), "Erma ben lavorata" (Del Corno), "a finely carved herm" (Jones), "de gebeeldhouwde neus van een herme" (Mooij). Christopher Jones has informed me *per litteras* that he now interprets the phrase as "herms of athletic form", referring to the statue of the so-called Hermes Ingenui (Vatican Museum, Museo Pio-Clementino, inv544). Conybeare's γεγλυμμένοι is ingenious but results in a tautology because ἑρμαῖ in the plural can only refer to statues. Phillimore's ⟨μὴ⟩ λελυμασμένοι makes Apollonius refer to the infamous injuring of the Athenian herms by Alcibiades and his consorts but this negative way of indicating well-formed herms would only make sense if in general the majority of herms had their noses cut off, which is not the case. The phrase remains enigmatic.

7.42.3 (p. 257.1–2) καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα οὕτω ξύμμετρον, ὡς καὶ σιωπῇ πρέπειν καὶ λόγῳ, δέρη τε **οὕτως** ἐλευθέρα καὶ φρονοῦσα. τί οὖν ἕτερον τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς **ἡγήσεταί** σε, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγεις ὦφθαι;

οὕτως Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : τούτοις **A E FQ** : ⟨ἐπὶ⟩ τούτοις Olearius (et Reiske^{2} Headlam) : ⟨ἴσα⟩ τούτοις Reiske^{1} : ⟨πρὸς⟩ τούτοις vel ⟨ἐπὶ⟩ τούτοις Reiske^{2} (et Headlam) ‖ ἡγήσεταί **A** : ἡγεῖταί **E FQ** : ἡγήσατό **A**^{1sl}

Many scholars have taken offence at the transmitted τούτοις. Most scholars wish to add something to τούτοις: the addition of ἐπί or πρός results in "in addition"; Reiske's ἴσα (*sic*) expresses that the boy's neck is similar to the other parts of the body just described. I have considered the possibility that τούτοις is *dativus possessivus* or *dativus commodi*, referring to the boy's eyes, nose, hair and mouth, all of which are above his neck: δέρη τε τούτοις ἐλευθέρα καὶ φρονοῦσα, then, literally means "and for these (= eyes, nose, hair and mouth) there is a free and proud neck", which can be paraphrased as "and these (= eyes, nose, hair and mouth) are above a free and proud neck". But this looks very unnatural. ⟨πρὸς⟩ or ⟨ἐπὶ⟩ τούτοις appears to put too much emphasis on the neck. Therefore I accept Kayser's conjecture οὕτως, which repeats οὕτω σύμμετρον in the preceding clause.

The future ἡγήσεταί is not a "real" future but a variant of the dubitative subjunctive: "how should the Emperor take a false impression of these points?" (Phillimore). See KG 1.173–176, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf 1990, §366. The readings ἡγήσατό and ἡγεῖταί probably result from misunderstanding this use of the future indicative.

7.42.4 (p. 257.9–10) "τούτων οὖν τίνα" εἶπεν "ἡγῇ σεαυτόν;" "**ὅ γε**," ἔφη "οἱ νόμοι· δεσπότης γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰμι."

ὅ γε **A E FQ** : ὅ⟨ν⟩ γε Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T}

In cases such as the present one the neuter relative pronoun can be used to refer to a masculine or feminine noun "indem der Begriff desselben ganz allgemein als blosses Ding oder Wesen oder auch als ein ganzer Gedanke aufgefasst wird" (KG 1.60). Here the relative pronoun refers to the concept of δεσπότης. Therefore Kayser's conjecture is unnecessary.

BOOK EIGHT

8.2.2 (p. 258.19) "εἰ μὲν ὁπόσα" ἔφη "ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ δίκη, ξυγχωρεῖ μοι λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαμετρηθεὶς **ὅ{υ}δε** ὁ Θύμβρις· εἰ δὲ ὁπόσα ἐρήσεται, μέτρον τοῦ ἀποκρινομένου ὁ ἐρωτῶν."

ὅ{υ}δε Cobet : οὐδὲ **A E FQ**

The general sense of this passage is clear: when asked how much water he will need to measure the time for pleading his cause Apollonius hyperbolically points to the waters of the Tiber. Most translators have something like "non ipse tyberis ad metiendum sufficiat" (Rinuccino), "the whole Tiber will not be too great an allowance" (Phillimore) or "so würde die Tiber nicht hinreichen" (Jacobs). This is in accordance with a marginal gloss on φθάνοι in **A** (written by the scribe himself): ἐξαρκῇ[215] (*sic*) ἤτοι ἐξισωθείη. Cobet 1859, 146–147 points out that φθάνω cannot have the meaning "suffice". Conybeare and Jones take φθάνω in its usual meaning, "be beforehand"; thus Conybeare has "the whole of the Tiber might run through the meter before I should have done", while Jones has "the Tiber itself would be measured out sooner". However, these translations would be an adequate rendering of φθάνοι ἂν ὁ Θύμβρις, whereas in the transmitted text we find φθάνοι ἄν negated (οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι οὐδὲ ὁ Θύμβρις), which can only be taken as "even the Tiber would *not* run out before I will be finished", but this is in flat contradiction with the context.

Cobet draws attention to frequently used phrases of the type οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις λέγων, expressing an urgent request; cf. LSJ s.v. IV.2.a; KG 2.65–66, Anmerk. 12. He conjectures ὅδε for οὐδέ, and interprets the phrase as equivalent to ὁ Θύμβρις ὡς τάχιστα διαμετρηθήτω, that is, "you should better put the Tiber here in the water clock right now". On this reading Philostratus depicts Apollonius and the clerk while walking together along the Tiber, so that Apollonius actually points to the river ("praeterfluentem Tiberim digito monstrans", as Cobet writes). But we might also assume that ὅδε ὁ Θύμβρις stands for "the river Tiber here in Rome", without the need to suppose that Apollonius and the clerk actually have a view of the river. The corruption of ὅδε to οὐδέ is easily explained as the result of *Echoschreibung* of the preceding οὐκ. I am convinced by Cobet's argument.

There are two problems with Cobet's conjecture and interpretation, but these are not insurmountable. The first problem concerns the third person of οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι. For the use of the phrase in the first, second and third person LSJ s.v. IV.2.b and KG 2.65

215 Donald Mastronarde has drawn my attention to the scholium on E. *Or.* 936, οὐ φθάνοιτ' ἄν: οὐκ ἀρκεσθήσεσθε πρὸς τὸν γυναικῶν φόνον, where we find the *simplex* ἀρκεσθήσεσθε as a gloss for φθάνοιτε.

Anmerk. 12 give the meaning "to express immediate futurity" resp. "(...) dient diese Formel (...) dazu, den baldigen Eintritt eines Ereignisses zuversichtlich anzukündigen", referring to e.g. D. 24.143 εἰ οὖν μὴ τιμωρήσεσθε τούτους, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι τὸ πλῆθος τούτοις τοῖς θηρίοις δουλεῦον, "If, then, you decline to punish the men before you, in a very little time the People will be in slavery to those beasts of prey" (tr. Murray). This meaning won't do in our passage. I think that Philostratus has transposed the meaning of urgent request, normally found in the second person, to the third person. The Tiber itself, however, is not the one to whom the request is directed: it is the clerk who is urged to fill the water clock with the Tiber. The phrase is a passive form of οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις διαμετρῶν (or διαμετρήσας) τὸν Θύμβριν.

In the second place the aorist participle διαμετρηθείς is remarkable because in the instances given by KG and LSJ we always find a present participle. But this is problematic for any interpretation of the passage, not only on Cobet's interpretation. The aorist probably underpins the urgency of the request: "there is no time to be lost before the water of the Tiber has been put into the water clock."

8.2.2 (p. 258.22) "ἐναντίας" εἶπεν "ἀρετὰς ἐπήσκηκας βραχυλογεῖν τε καὶ μακρηγορεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν φάσκων." "οὐκ ἐναντίας," ἔφη "ἀλλ' ὁμοίας· ὁ γὰρ θάτερον ἱκανὸς **οὐδ'** ἂν θατέρου λείποιτο."

οὐδ' **A** (ci. Reiske[2]) : οὐδὲν **E FQ**

Apollonius wants to state that someone who is good at making long speeches is also good at making short ones. Thus the second part of the sentence, οὐδ' ἂν θατέρου λείποιτο, is a variation of καὶ θάτερον ἂν ἱκανὸς εἴη. This suggests that **A**'s οὐδ' is to be preferred to οὐδέν of the others. οὐδέν might be the result of pseudo-dittography of ἄν. But I admit that it is also possible to argue the other way round.

8.2.2 (p. 258.25–26) "καὶ μὴν καὶ Σωκράτην" ἔφη "τὸν Ἀθηναῖον μέγα ὤνησεν, ὅτε **ἔφ⟨ε⟩υγε** τὴν γραφήν."

ἔφ⟨ε⟩υγε Richards : ἔφυγε **A E FQ**

The imperfect is required here because the aorist would mean that Socrates was acquitted in his process, which was not the case. See note on 7.2.2 (p. 222.17–18). Richards 1909, 108 points out that by the same token in *Her.* 1.1 (p. 1.7 De Lannoy) the transmitted φύγοι should be replaced by φεύγοι, in which I think he is right. This conjecture is not mentioned by De Lannoy and Follet, probably because it escaped their attention, being suggested in a lemma on *VA*.

8.5.3 (p. 261.4–5) οὐ γάρ με **κτενέεις**, ἐπεὶ οὔτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι.

κτενέεις **E FQ** Eus. Suda Sync. : κτανέεις **A** Cedr.

The Homeric verse (*Iliad* 22.13) quoted by Apollonius before he miraculously leaves the courtroom returns in 8.8 (p. 282.20–21) and (only the first half) in 8.12.4 (p. 285.6–7). In all three passages **A** (joined by **S** [Laur.CS.155] in 8.8 and 8.12.4; in the present passage Laur.CS.155 is not yet a gemellus of **A**) has κτανέεις, while **E FQ** have κτενέεις, with the exception of 8.8, where **E** has κτανέεις.[216] Forms of -κταν- do occur in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 2.701). In quotations of *Il.* 22.13 we always find κτενέεις, with the exception of Georgius Cedrenus (eleventh–twelfth century), who has κτανέεις at *Compendium historiarum* 1.431, where he refers to *VA* 8.8–12.2 (p. 282.19–284.15); probably, Cedrenus consulted a ms. of *VA* which was related to the source of **AS**. In Philostratus we always find forms of -κτεν-. Therefore κτανέεις is definitely *lectio difficilior* in the three quotations of the verse, which might induce us to accept this reading in all three passages. However, in the present passage Eusebius has κτενέεις[217] and this tilts the balance in favour of κτενέεις.

8.5.4 (p. 261.9) καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἠφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τόν τε παρόντα καιρὸν εὖ τιθέμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ' ἁπλῶς ὁ τύραννος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας ἐρωτήσων δῆλος ἦν (ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο γάρ που τῷ μὴ ἀπεκτονέναι αὐτόν) τοῦ τε μὴ ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπαχθῆναι προορῶν. τυχεῖν δ' **ἂν τούτου** ἄριστα ἡγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ ἀγνοοῖτο τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ γινώσκοιτο, ὡς ἔχοι τοῦ μὴ ἄν ποτε ἁλῶναι ἄκων.

ἂν τούτου scripsi : αὖ τούτου **A E FQ** : αὐ⟨τοῦ⟩ τούτου Phillimore

Two arguments can be adduced in favour of replacing αὖ by ἄν. In the first place αὖ is ill at place here: the clause τυχεῖν δ' αὖ τούτου ἄριστα ἡγεῖτο is an elaboration of τοῦ τε μὴ ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπαχθῆναι προορῶν so that there is no switch to a new item. In the second place the infinitive τυχεῖν without ἄν is normally used to state a fact, whereas we need a potential infinitive, witness the two potential optatives ἀγνοοῖτο and γινώσκοιτο in the auxiliary clause. Sometimes Philostratus omits ἄν with the potential optative; cf. Schmid 4.89–90 and see note on 3.2.1 (p. 73.23). Even so, I think that ἄν is indispensable here with the infinitive in this conditional period. For what it is worth I quote some passages in Philostratus where we find an infinitive with δ' ἄν: *VA* 5.5.1 (p. 149.6–7) θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, 7.36.2 (p. 251.26) καὶ λειποθυμῆσαι δ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐταῖς, 8.27 (p. 293.13–14) κατασχεῖν δ' ἂν αὐτὴν ῥᾷον, 8.28 (p. 293.25) πεμφθῆναι δ' ἂν καὶ δι' ἑτέρου, *Her*. 43.13 (p. 57.1 De Lannoy) εἰπεῖν δ' ἂν οὐδὲν ὧν οἶδεν.

The particles αὖ and ἄν are frequently interchanged in the manuscripts. In *VA* I have found the following instances: 2.22.1 (p. 56.25) αὖ] ἄν **E**, 3.13 (p. 80.15) αὖ Bentley and Reiske[2]: ἄν **A E F**, 3.42.1 (p. 101.26) αὖ] ἄν **F**, 3.45.2 (p. 103.20) αὖ] ἄν **E**, 5.15.1 (p. 156.22) αὖ Reiske[2] : ἄν **A E FQ**, 7.40 (p. 255.11) αὖ] ἄν **E**. In all these cases the ms.

216 Remarkably enough, in 8.5.3 the ancestor of Marc.XI.29 and Par.1696, which derives from **E**, must have had κτανέεις, which is found in Par.1696 but which is corrupted into κατανέεις in Marc. XI.29.

217 Des Places does not report variant readings in his apparatus.

or mss. involved have ἄν, while αὖ is preferable; in the present passage it is the other way round.

8.6.1 (p. 261.16) καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μέν, ὅτι διαβαλ{λ}οῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰς βωμολόχους ἰδέας ἐπαινοῦντες κτέ.

καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν **A** : οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν γάρ **E FQ**

With the reading οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν γάρ Philostratus gives an explanation why he has decided to quote Apollonius' speech in spite of the possible objections just mentioned. But this is superfluous because the very fact that Apollonius did compose the speech is enough reason to include it in the work, irrespective of what others might say about it. With **A**'s reading καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μέν Philostratus introduces a new issue, namely the critical comments he expects some people to give on the style of the speech.[218]

8.7.1 (p. 262.11) σύ τε γὰρ κινδυνεύεις ὑπὲρ ὧν μήποτε αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν οὐδεμιᾷ δίκῃ διαβεβλῆσθαι δόξεις, ἐγώ τε ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ Σωκράτης ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ὃν οἱ γραψάμενοι τὴν γραφὴν **καινο⟨ῦ⟩ν** μὲν τὰ δαιμόνια ἡγοῦντο, δαίμονα δὲ οὔτε ἐκάλουν οὔτε ᾤοντο.

καινο⟨ῦ⟩ν Reiske$^{1/2}$: καινὸν **A E FQ**

Once more, we see Reiske at his best: the infinitive καινοῦν with its ending in -οῦν was only to be expected to be corrupted into καινόν which is unacceptable here.

8.7.1 (p. 262.17) σὲ μὲν γὰρ ᾤοντο ξυμβούλῳ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὀργῇ χρήσεσθαι, δι' ἣν κἂν ἀποκτεῖναί με, ὅ τι ποτ' ἐστι τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐμὲ δ' ἐκποιήσειν ἐμαυτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου **τρόποις**, ὁπόσοι τοῦ ἀποδρᾶναί εἰσιν, ἦσαν δ', ὦ βασιλεῦ, μυρίοι.

τρόποις **A E** : τρόποις δ' **FQ** : fortasse τρόπῳ

The transmitted plural τρόποις is strange. People cannot have supposed that Apollonius would disappear from the courtroom in several ways simultaneously. This is reflected in some translations; see for instance "in some of the ways there are (...) of escaping from it" (Conybeare), "by one of the various ways of escape" (Jones), "in uno o nell'altro dei modi che esistono per fuggire" (Del Corno). I have therefore considered the possibility that τρόποις is a corruption of an original τρόπῳ. The phenomenon of a plural relative pronoun following an antecedent in the singular is described by KG 1.55–56. It is already found in Homer, e.g. *Od.* 12.97 κῆτος, ἃ μυρία βόσκει ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη; see also X. *Mem.* 2.1.15 ὧν (...) τοιοῦτος, οἵοις μάλιστα ἐπιτίθενται οἱ βουλόμενοι ἀδικεῖν. However, I

218 The editions before Kayser have οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μέν. Translations based on Kayser's edition leave γάρ untranslated, with the exception of Conybeare's translation.

have not found parallels for this construction with forms of ὁπόσος and therefore I have refrained from printing τρόπῳ in the text. The plural of the antecedent τρόποις can possibly be explained as due to attraction of the number of the relative ὁπόσοι.

8.7.4 (p. 263.13) καὶ τὸ μὲν ἱπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς κἀπὶ ζευγῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ ὀψοφαγία καὶ **{γάμοι}** μυριάδων δύο καὶ τριῶν ἐωνημένα παιδικὰ κτέ.

γάμοι del. Kayser[2] (et Madvig) : γάμοι ⟨καὶ⟩ Reiske[2] (et Kayser[1C] Westermann)

The only way to save the transmitted text is to take γάμοι as an apposition to παιδικά (or vice versa) but this seems impossible even in Philostratus. Reiske's addition of καί (proposed independently by Kayser) makes γάμοι stand on its own; but γάμοι without any further qualification is too weak in the instances of misbehaviour ironically admitted by Apollonius which have lavish qualifications. And marriages as such cannot be regarded as features of misbehaviour. Therefore I follow Kayser and Madvig in bracketing the word. It may have originated as a marginal gloss on γαμεῖν in the next line.

8.7.5 (p. 263.18) τὸ δ' οὕτω τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φρονεῖν, ὡς **προγινώσκειν** βούλεσθαι τῶν θεῶν κτέ.

προγινώσκειν] πέρα γιγνώσκειν Jacobs[6]

Jacobs, in a note to his translation, remarks that προγιγνώσκειν τῶν θεῶν cannot possibly be correct. Indeed, the usual meaning of the verb is "*know, perceive, learn,* or *understand beforehand*" (LSJ s.v. I.1). With reference to our passage LSJ s.v. I.4 give the meaning "*learn* things *in advance of*". This meaning is found in Phillimore's translation "to anticipate the gods in knowledge". But in the preceding passage Apollonius had stated that the sycophants claim to know more than the gods, not that they know things before the gods know them. Accordingly, most translations have something like "to know better than the gods" (Conybeare).[219] This meaning of the preverb προ- might be derived from the meaning of the preposition "more than", for which LSJ s.v. πρό A.III.1 mention some passages, such as A. *Th.* 926–927 δυσδαίμων σφιν ἁ τεκοῦσα πρὸ πασᾶν γυναικῶν. Van Wulfften Palthe 1887, 49 (quoted with approval by Schmid 4.422) mentions this meaning of προγιγνώσκειν in a list of words which Philostratus uses in a sense not found elsewhere. Jacobs proposes reading πέρα γιγνώσκειν, which suits the sense perfectly. But the corruption is hard to explain and the position of πέρα, separated from τῶν θεῶν by γινώσκειν βούλεσθαι, is irregular. Therefore I have kept the transmitted text, albeit with some doubt.

219 Jones combines the two interpretations, "to have more prescience than the gods", thus translating the preverb προ- twice.

8.7.5 (p. 263.28) ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σός, ᾧ ἐγὼ τοσούτου ἄξιος, ὅσουπερ ἐκεῖνος σοί· σὲ μὲν γὰρ **ἐποίησεν**, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο.

ἐποίησεν **A E FQ** : βασιλέα ἐποίησεν Eus.

The phrase is very condensed and hinges on the double meaning of the verbs ἐποίησεν and ἐγένετο. ἐποίησεν is used in the sense of "beget" (LSJ s.v. A.I.2; LSJ remark that in Classical Greek the middle voice is needed for this meaning, while in later Greek the active voice can be used as well); ἐγένετο at first sight serves as the counterpart of ἐποίησεν but is in fact meant to express that Vespasian became what he was, namely emperor, through Apollonius. Thus Vespasian is Domitian's biological father whereas Apollonius is Vespasian's political father. Jones aptly translates the phrase in this sense as "because he made you, but I made him" (similarly Phillimore, Conybeare and Del Corno). The ambiguity gets lost in translations such as Westermann's: "te enim imperatorem fecit, a me autem factus est" (similarly Chassang, Mumprecht and Mooij). Eusebius' text actually has βασιλέα before ἐποίησεν. I think that he inserted the word himself because he only quotes the sentence σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐποίησεν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο without further context. Without βασιλέα Eusebius' readers would not have been able to see through Philostratus' ambiguity. On the other hand, there is no obvious explanation for the omission of an authentic βασιλέα.[220]

8.7.6 (p. 264.8) (...) ἥ τε διάνοια, ᾗ εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἐχρῆτο, ἐρρώσθη αὐτῷ παρ' ἐμοῦ μάλιστα, μεθεστηκυῖα ἤδη ὑφ' ἑτέρων **οὐκ ⟨ἀν⟩επιτηδείων** μέν (...), ἐμοῦ δὲ ξυμβουλεύοντος κτέ.

οὐκ ⟨ἀν⟩επιτηδείων Kayser[2] : οὐκ ἐπιτηδείων **A E** : οὐκ ἐπιτηδεία (sic) **FQ** : εἰς τὸ ἐπιτήδεια Reiske[1] : ἐς ἐπιτήδεια Reiske[2] : {οὐκ} ἐπιτηδείων Kayser[1]

οὐκ ἐπιτηδείων, the reading of the archetype, cannot possibly be authentic because the qualification of the anonymous advisors of Vespasian must be positive, witness the following remark on what Domitian will think of them. Therefore either οὐκ must be deleted or ἐπιτηδείων must be changed into ⟨ἀν⟩επιτηδείων. Both solutions were envisaged by Kayser. To my mind the litotes οὐκ ⟨ἀν⟩επιτηδείων is to be preferred because it is a better preparation for the following remark on Domitian's opinion on the men; and οὐκ ⟨ἀν⟩επιτηδείων is more elegant than the blunt ἐπιτηδείων.

8.7.7 (p. 264.14) οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἤκων διελέγετο, οἷον 'ἀνάγκασον τὰς Μοίρας ἢ τὸν Δία τύραννον ἀποφῆναί με' ἢ '**ψεῦσ{ασθ}αι** διοσημείας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δείξας τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας, δυόμενον δὲ ὅθεν ἄρχεται.'

ψεῦσ{ασθ}αι Reiske[2] (et Madvig) : τεράτευσαι Kayser[1App] Kayser[2T]

220 The older editions have σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐποίησεν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο οὗτος βασιλεύς, which is based on the reading of **FQ** who have ὁ βασιλεύς for ᾧ βασιλεῦ. This reading of **FQ** is probably a conjecture, introduced in order to make explicit what Apollonius implies.

Reiske rightly saw that instead of the transmitted infinitive ψεύσασθαι we need a form which corresponds to *ἀνάγκασον*. The infinitive ψεύσασθαι results from *Echoschreibung* of the infinitive *ἀποφῆναι*. Kayser, who did not know Reiske's conjecture, proposed τεράτευσαι (that is, the imperative of τερατεύσασθαι). But τεράτευσαι is much further removed from the transmitted ψεύσασθαι than ψεῦσαι. Kayser may have thought that τερατεύεσθαι means "perpetrate marvels", which it does not.

8.7.8 (p. 264.27) σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἴσως τὸν πατέρα ἡγῇ τὸν σεαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἐρῶντα γόησι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῷ πιστεῦσαι καὶ ***ἀνάγκην*** ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς, ἵνα τούτου τύχοι, παρ' ἐμοῦ εὑρέσθαι κτέ.

ἀνάγκην Reiske[2] (et Jacobs[6]) : *ἀνάγειν* **A E FQ**

This ingenious and convincing conjecture, made by Reiske and Jacobs independently, is confirmed by the phrase *ἀνάγκασον τὰς Μοίρας ἢ τὸν Δία τύραννον ἀποφῆναί με* in §7 of this chapter (p. 264.13–14).

8.7.9 (p. 265.9) καὶ οὐχ αἱ βάναυσοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν σοφαί τε ὁμοίως καὶ ὑπόσοφοι πλὴν ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας. καλῶ δὲ ***σοφοὺς*** μὲν ποιητικήν, μουσικήν, ἀστρονομίαν, σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς μὴ ἀγοραίους κτέ.

σοφοὺς **A E FQ** : *σοφὰς* Kayser[2]

Kayser's conjecture *σοφάς* for the transmitted *σοφούς* is unnecessary. The masculine gender of *σοφούς* can be explained by the fact that the list under the heading "wise" contains (feminine) names of professions and (masculine) names of men exercising a profession. See KG 1.77–78: "In Verbindung von Personennamen und Sachnamen richtet sich das Adjektiv im Plurale entweder nach dem Geschlechte der Personennamen, wenn der Personenname als der wichtigere Begriff oder der Sachname zugleich persönlich aufgefasst wird (...)." Indeed, in the immediately preceding sentence we read *ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν σοφαί τε ὁμοίως καὶ ὑπόσοφοι πλὴν ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας*, which would seem to plead in favour of Kayser's conjecture. But then it is hard to explain how an authentic *σοφάς*, preceded and followed by a series of feminine nouns, would have been corrupted into *σοφούς* (although *ασ/ουσ* alternation is easy in certain minuscule scripts, as Donald Mastronarde has pointed out to me). The masculine *σοφούς* might be explained as another instance of variation, of which Philostratus is particularly fond; see Schmid 4.524–526. It may also serve to mark the transition to the coalescence of crafts and craftsmen, mentioned in KG. Therefore I have accepted the transmitted *σοφούς*.

8.7.10 (p. 265.15) τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ***ἄπιστα***, πάντα ταῦτα προστίθημι τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων δόξῃ.

ἄπιστα Eus. 42.11 : *ἄπιστα εἶναι* Eus. 42.21 : *ἀπιστεῖσθαι* **A E FQ**

Eusebius quotes the phrase twice in chapter 42 of his treatise. The variations in these two quotations are instructive of Eusebius' loose way of quoting. In ll. 9–11 he has ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί· τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα; in l. 21 we read τὰ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα εἶναι. Even so, we can be confident that Eusebius read ἄπιστα in his text of *VA*. So the choice is between ἄπιστα and ἀπιστεῖσθαι. Olearius, in his note to the passage, remarks: "Eusebius bis legit ἄπιστα, quod eodem redit. Melius tamen puto esse verbum, quoniam εἶναι, quod itidem verbum, praecessit." To my mind, ἄπιστα is preferable, exactly because it is not a verb. As Schmid 4.115–116 and 4.524–526 illustrates with numerous examples, Philostratus is fond of variation in coordinated constituents. Moreover, with ἄπιστα (without repeated εἶναι) we have a zeugmatic use of εἶναι, first as the substantive verb, "exist", then as the copula; for zeugma in Philostratus cf. Schmid 4.105. It is telling that in the second quotation Eusebius repeats εἶναι. Therefore I find Eusebius' ἄπιστα superior from a stylistic point of view.

There is also an argument in favour of ἄπιστα with regard to the meaning of the passage. τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι expresses the content of a belief, "the unreal is real"; τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι, however, is a statement about the belief itself, "the real is believed to be unreal". And while it is possible to attribute the statement "the real is not to be believed" (τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα) to the opinion (τῇ δόξῃ) of those who are deceived, it is impossible to do so with the statement "the real is believed to be unreal" (τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι).

For these reasons I have accepted Eusebius' ἄπιστα. The reading of the manuscripts is probably an attempt at regularizing the construction, due to misunderstanding the zeugmatic and varied expression.

8.7.11 (p. 265.23) ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ποῦ μοι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ γενναίου τε καὶ θείου ἀνδρός; ὃς **μου** ἐν αὐτῇ ᾄδει τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι.

μου Reiske$^{1/2}$: με **AS E FQ**

Reiske's conjecture must result from the observation that ᾄδω is never construed with a double accusative. In Philostratus, we find either the genitive of the person praised and the accusative of the thing for which he is praised (e.g. 6.43.1 [p. 220.22] Κἀκεῖνα ἐν Τάρσοις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ᾄδουσι) or, more frequently, with the accusative of person and περί with the genitive or ἐπί with the dative (e.g. 3.49 [p. 105.16] ἃ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ αὐτοῦ ᾄδουσιν), in which case we always find a pronoun. This pleads for accepting Reiske's μου here.

8.7.11 (p. 265.25) Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταὐτά σοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἤθελον, σφόδρ' ἂν εὐδαιμόνως **ἔπραττον** φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία, φιλοσοφία μὲν ἀδεκάστως ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαιρέτως.

ἔπραττον *Ep.Ap.* : ἔπραττε **AS E FQ**

According to KG 1.79 a singular predicate with more than one subject in the singular is used when "eines der Subjekte als das vorzüglichere ausgezeichnet werden soll, sowie auch, wenn gleichartige Begriffe zu einem Gesamtbegriffe, einem Ganzen zusammengefasst werden sollen." Neither of these situations applies here. Further, in all places in Philostratus where the predicate precedes two subjects linked by means of τε καί the predicate is in the plural, e.g. *VA* 1.21.1 (p. 22.1–2) ἄγονται τοίνυν παρὰ τὸν σατράπην Ἀπολλώνιός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, *Her.* 33.48 (p. 47.15–16 De Lannoy) ἔθαψαν δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Αἴας.[221] Therefore I have accepted the plural ἔπραττον in our passage.

8.7.12 (p. 266.8) τὰ γοῦν πατρῷα (λαμπρὰ δ' ἦν οὐσία ταῦτα) μιᾶς μόνης ἰδὼν ἡμέρας ἀδελφοῖς τε τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀνῆκα καὶ φίλοις καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τοῖς πένησι μελετῶν που **ἀφ' Ἑστίας** τὸ μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι.

ἀφ' Ἑστίας Kayser$^{1/2}$ Westermann Conybeare : ἀφ' ἑστίας Aldina Morel Olearius Jones

The older editions print ἀφ' ἑστίας with lower case ἑ-. Rinuccino (followed by Morel) leaves the phrase untranslated; Olearius translates "ab ipso lare". Kayser prints ἀφ' Ἑστίας with upper case Ἑ- but he does not state why he does so. Jones returns to the spelling ἀφ' ἑστίας. Most translators follow Olearius' translation, e.g. "von Haus(e) aus" (Jacobs, Mumprecht), "from my very home and hearth" (Conybeare), "the Spirit of my hearth-stone" (Phillimore), "fino dal focolare domestico" (Del Corno). However, ἀφ' Ἑστίας is a proverbial expression based on the fact that during sacrifices Hestia was honoured first. See Zen. 1.40 Ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχόμενοι· μετενήνεκται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ δρωμένων. Ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τῇ Ἑστίᾳ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ποιεῖσθαι, and see Dunbar 1995 ad Ar. *Av.* 864–865. Therefore the correct translation is "from the start", as we read in Westermann ("ab initio") and Chassang ("mon premier soin a été"), and the phrase should be printed as ἀφ' Ἑστίας.[222]

8.7.13 (p. 266.21) καίτοι τί χρὴ ἐρωτᾶν; διῆλθε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς στολῆς **κατ' ἀρχὰς** τοῦ λόγου, καὶ νὴ Δί' ὧν σιτοῦμαί τε καὶ οὐ σιτοῦμαι.

κατ' ἀρχὰς Reiske^{2} : τὰς ἀρχὰς **AS E FQ**

διέρχομαι can be construed with ὑπέρ + gen., as in Plb. 1.13.10 βραχὺ δ' ἐπιμελέστερον πειρασόμεθα διελθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρώτου συστάντος πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις περὶ Σικελίας; διέρχομαι λόγον is attested for instance at Pi. *N.* 4.71–72 ἄπορα γὰρ λόγον Αἰακοῦ | παίδων τὸν ἅπαντά μοι διελθεῖν. But διέρχομαι τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου is unacceptable, which induced Reiske to conjecture κατ' ἀρχάς. The phrase κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου is first found in Pl. *La.* 198a1. In Philostratus there is an instance at *VS* 1.9.23.3 (p. 13.5 Stefec).

221 Other instances: *Her.* 26.3 (p. 31.21–22 De Lannoy), 48.9 (p. 62.3–4 De Lannoy), 54.12 (p. 72.7–8 De Lannoy).

222 Jones' translation appears to render the phrase twice: "making self-sufficiency begin at home".

8.7.17 (p. 268.11–12) τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων ἥκει κατὰ **χρόνους** ἐπιτηδευθὲν αὐτοῖς, **{ἐς}** οὓς μαχιμώτατα αὐτῶν εἶχον κτέ.

κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Marc.391 (ci. Cobet) ‖ ἐς del. Cobet

Cobet 1859, 148 states that Philostratus always has κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὕς κτέ. This is not true. At 8.7.14 (p. 267.6) the primary mss. have κατὰ χρόνους; κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους is found in Marc.XI.29 and Par.1696. In *VS* there are six occurrences of κατὰ χρόνους: 1.7.14.1 (p. 8.6 Stefec), 1.25.74.2 (p. 52.6 Stefec), 2.1.8.1 (p. 68.18–19 Stefec), 2.2.20.1 (p. 79.6 Stefec), 2.14.49.2 (p. 105.10 Stefec), 2.18.54.1 (p. 108.19 Stefec). So there is no need to add the article in *VA* 8.7.14 and 8.7.17.

On the other hand Cobet is right in pointing out that in this collocation Philostratus never adds a preposition before the relative. A TLG search gives only one case of χρόνους ἐς/εἰς οὕς, namely Origenes *de pascha* p. 134.1 (...) ὡς μὴ δεῖν ἄλλως κατ' ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν δέξασθαι εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς συμπληρωτικοὺς χρόνους, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκεν, but there the preposition εἰς stands before the antecedent χρόνους as well; moreover, εἰς is expected after καταντᾶν but it is not suitable with the predicate in our passage, as Donald Mastronarde has pointed out to me. Therefore I follow Cobet in deleting ἐς in our passage.

8.7.19 (p. 269.4) οὔτε γάρ, εἰς ὅ τι ἢ ἐξ ὅτου **μετέβαλεν** ἢ μεταβαλεῖ μοι ἡ ψυχή, διειλέχθην ἐν Ἕλλησι κτέ.

μετέβαλεν Reiske$^{1/2}$: μετέβαλον **AS E FQ**

Reiske's elegant conjecture makes Apollonius' soul the subject of both predicates, which is obviously what the context requires. The corruption into μετέβαλον is easily explained as resulting from the fact that Apollonius is constantly speaking about himself.

8.7.20 (p. 269.17) ξὺν προθυμίᾳ γάρ που ἠκροῶντό μου, δεδιότες **μὴ** πράττειν, ἃ μὴ δοκεῖ θεῷ· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο ᾤοντο.

μὴ πράττειν **E FQ** : πράττειν **AS**

An infinitive following a verb of fearing (and many other verbs) can be accompanied by μή; see KG 2.207–209. Schmid 4.95 notes that in Philostratus μή is present in some places and absent in others. It is absent, e.g., at *VA* 6.3.3 (p. 182.1–2) φυλαξομένῳ γάρ τι ἁμαρτεῖν ἔοικας, but present, e.g., at *VA* 3.40 (p. 100.27) οὐ γὰρ ἂν διέφυγον τὸ μὴ μανῆναι. I think that μή is more easily omitted than inserted and therefore I have adopted it here.

8.7.21 (p. 269.18) **Ἔτι** δ' ἔστι τις ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς θεὸν ξυγγένεια, δι' ἣν μόνον ζῴων θεοὺς οἶδε κτέ.

ἔτι Reiske^{2} : ὅτι **AS E FQ**

In the transmitted text the ὅτι-clause depends on ᾤοντο (the last word of §20): the people in the cities visited by Apollonius did not believe that he was a god but they did believe that there is a sort of kinship between man and god. There follows a long digression on this topic, which cannot be regarded as the content of what the people in the cities believed. In fact, it is totally irrelevant what these people thought about the kinship between man and god in general. This was probably the reason why Reiske suggested changing ὅτι into ἔτι, which he interprets as "praeterea quoque est homini". In sections 19–20 Apollonius had refuted the accusation that the people in the cities visited by Apollonius revered him as if he were a god. This refutation, in which the concept of godlike men takes up a central position, forms the bridge to the discussion of kinship between man and god in general terms. The collocation ἔτι δέ for introducing a new topic which is loosely attached to the preceding topic, "further" or "for that matter", is frequently found; see e.g. Th. 1.6.5, 1.70.6, 2.8.3, 2.13.1, 2.13.5, Isoc. 3.33, 4.42, 17.30. I find Reiske's conjecture convincing.

8.7.21 (p. 270.5) καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον **ἀγὼν ⟨ἦκεν⟩** ἢ κίνδυνος ἐκ τούτων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὡς ἀθανατίζοντα κτέ.

ἀγὼν ⟨ἦκεν⟩ Cobet

Schmid 4.111–112 gives a number of instances where Philostratus omits a verb expressing a physical activity or motion. In this passage, however, the expression ἀγὼν ἢ κίνδυνος ἐπί without a predicate is hard to swallow because the motion is metaphorical and not physical. Therefore I believe that Cobet is right in adding ἦκεν. As Cobet 1859, 148 explains, the omission may be due to the similarity in sound and writing of ἦκεν and ἢ κίν(δυνος). Cobet further points to the similar phrase κινδύνου δ' ἐφ' ἑκάτερον ἡμῶν οὕτω χαλεποῦ ἥκοντος in 8.7.1 (p. 262.12–13).

8.7.23 (p. 270.24) ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἀνδρός, ὃς ἐπιμελήσεται τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμου, θεὸς **ἀπὸ** σοφίας ἥκων.

ἀπὸ **AS E FQ** : ὑπὸ $\mathbf{A}^{\text{lsl}}\mathbf{S}^{\text{lsl}}$

Olearius, who prints θεὸς ἀπὸ σοφίας ἥκων, explains this expression as a variation of the well known θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, *deus ex machina*, for which see, e.g., D.Chr. 13.14, Lucianus *Philops.* 29, Suda α 3438, θ 181. The supralinear variant reading ὑπό in **AS** is probably due to conjecture.

8.7.24 (p. 271.3–4) **Ἔστι**, βασιλεῦ, κατηγορία καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐφέσου, ἐπειδὴ ἐσώθη, καὶ κρινέτω με ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ὥς ἐστι πρόσφορον τῇ γραφῇ. **ἔστω γὰρ δήπου** ἡ κατηγορία τοιαύτη.

Ἔστι scripsi : ἔστω **AS E FQ** ‖ ἔστω γὰρ δήπου Olearius : ἔστι γὰρ δήπου **AS E FQ**

The argument in sections 24–25 is obscure, as Jacobs rightly remarks in the note to his translation of the passage. Jacobs summarizes the train of thought as follows: "Ich werde angeklagt, Ephesus von der Pest befreit, und es gerettet zu haben. Man sollte glauben, es sey die Rede von einer Stadt unversöhnlicher Feinde des Römischen Reiches: und auch dann könnte die menschenfreundliche Hülfe eines weisen Mannes gerechtfertigt werden; aber Ephesus ist ein Theil dieses Reichs, und Wer den erhält und rettet, erzeigt dem Kaiser einen Dienst." Thus, even if Apollonius had saved an enemy from the plague, the emperor might have approved of this. Therefore, the emperor will *a fortiori* approve of Apollonius' having saved the friendly city of Ephesus.

Olearius saw that there is a problem with the transmitted ἔστι γὰρ δήπου, because the first hypothetical charge can by no means represent what the actual charge says. The actual charge is about Ephesus itself, not about a city similar to Ephesus. This induced Olearius to change ἔστι into ἔστω. This imperative ἔστω is prepared by the preceding clause, κρινέτω με ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ὥς ἐστι πρόσφορον τῇ γραφῇ, as is indicated by the particle γάρ in ἔστω γὰρ δήπου ἡ κατηγορία τοιαύτη. Framing the charge against Apollonius as if he had helped an enemy of the Romans is the best way for the prosecutor to put Apollonius in a bad light. But as Apollonius demonstrates, even if this framing is granted to the prosecutor, it will not do. The combination of δήπου with the imperative ἔστω might seem to plead against Olearius' conjecture because normally δήπου accompanies a statement in the indicative; however, there are a few parallels for ἔστω δήπου: Gal. *De crisibus* 9.657.9 Kühn, Paus. 6.13.2 and Orib. *Collectiones medicae* 10.6.2.

But the transmitted text of the opening sentence of the section is problematic as well. It is a fact that there is a charge against Apollonius with regard to Ephesus and therefore the imperative ἔστω is out of place. What we need is the indicative ἔστι.

The structure of the passage is as follows. "Next point: the charge about Ephesus. Let's represent it in the way which is most favourable for the prosecutor. Even the fictitious heavier charge can be refuted. So the real charge can be refuted *a fortiori*."

The corruption of ἔστι into ἔστω may have been caused by anticipation of the following κρινέτω; the corruption of ἔστω into ἔστι may result from *Echoschreibung* of the preceding ἔστι.

8.7.25 (p. 271.16) τὴν δὲ Ἔφεσον τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ{υ} σώζεσθαι βεβλημένην μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης Ἀτθίδος, ἐπιδεδωκυῖαν δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὁπόσαι Ἰωνικαί τε καὶ Λύδιοι, **προβεβληκυῖαν** δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ὑπερήκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἧς ᾠκίσθη κτέ.

προβεβληκυῖαν **E FQ** : προβεβηκυῖαν **AS**

In the mss. there is often confusion between βεβλη- and βεβη-; cf. the note on 4.28.1 (p. 130.10). The older editions have προβεβληκυῖαν with **E FQ**, Kayser prefers προβεβηκυῖαν of **AS**. At first sight προβεβληκυῖαν seems to be less attractive because it is in the active voice without an object, while the intransitive προβεβηκυῖαν can be construed

easily. But the verb προβάλλω has the same root as προβολή, for which LSJ s.v. II.2 give the meaning "*tongue of land*"; they quote Q.S. 9.378 ἐπὶ προβολῇσι θαλάσσης. Further, there are a few attestations of the intransitive use of προβάλλω; see LSJ s.v. A.V, who refer to Arist. *PA* 660a24 συστέλλειν γὰρ καὶ προβάλλειν παντοδαπῇ τοιαύτη οὖσα καὶ ἀπολελυμένη μάλιστ' ἂν δύναιτο (sc. ἡ γλῶττα). προβεβληκυῖαν forms a sequel to βεβλημένην a few lines earlier, but I admit that this might also be adduced as an argument for the corruption of an authentic προβεβηκυῖαν into προβεβληκυῖαν due to *Echoschreibung*. Finally, προβεβληκυῖαν is *lectio difficilior*, for the reasons just indicated.

8.7.26 (p. 272.5) καταγέλαστον γὰρ τοῦτο ἐδόκει καὶ οὐδ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πιθανὸν κατ' ἀνδρῶν λέγεσθαι σοφῶν, οὗ τὰ γύναια κακῶς **ἤκουσεν** ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἕλξει.

ἤκουσεν **AS E F** : ἤκουσαν **Q** : ἤκου{σ}εν Cobet

Cobet 1859, 149 states that "sententia imperfectum postulat κακῶς ἤκουεν", but there are numerous passages where we find the aorist in the collocation κακῶς ἀκούειν. Here are some instances: Hdt. 3.120.4, Th. 5.28.2, J. *AJ* 16.219, Plu. *Cat.Mi.* 24.4, *Marc.* 27.1. In Philostratus we find κακῶς ἤκουσεν in *VS* 2.1.17.2 (p. 76.26 Stefec). Cobet may have reasoned that the imperfect is necessary because in Apollonius' time the Thessalian women still had the reputation of pulling down the moon; see for instance Plu. 416f5. But in that case we would rather expect the present tense. In our passage the aorist stresses the fact that in the time of Democritus, Sophocles, Empedocles and the others mentioned in the preceding section the Thessalian women had a bad reputation; this does not necessarily imply that the Thessalian women no longer had a bad reputation in Apollonius' time.

8.7.30 (p. 273.15) οὐ Σκύθην με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἤρηκας, οὐδ' ἐκ **γῆς** ἀμίκτου ποθέν, οὐδ' ἐπέμιξά πω Μασσαγέταις ἢ Ταύροις, ὡς κἀκείνους ἂν τοῦ τῆς θυσίας ἔθους μετέβαλον.

γῆς Reiske$^{1/2}$: τῆς **AS E FQ**

The collocation γῆ ἄμικτος is attested; see Plu. 954c9, Gal. 1.453.8 Kühn, 12.183.15 Kühn, Orib. *Collectiones medicae* 15.1:25.16. I have not found parallels for ἡ ἄμικτος without γῆ. Therefore I have accepted Reiske's convincing conjecture.

8.7.31 (p. 274.5) σὲ γοῦν ἐπαινεῖ μὲν σώματος, ἐπαινεῖ δὲ γνώμης, εἰκὸς μέν, οἶμαι, τι πράττων· προθυμοτέρα **δ' ὄντως** ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐπαινεῖν, ἃ μὴ αὐτὴ ἔρρωται.

δ' **AS FQ** : δὲ **E** : γὰρ **A**^{1sl} ‖ ὄντως] οὕτως Laur.69.26 : ἄλλως Jacobs^{6} : πως Reiske^{2} : fortasse αὖτως

With the reading γάρ, which may well be a conjecture, Nerva's weakness is the only explanation for his praising Domitian's strength of body and mind. With δ' Apollonius states that Nerva is right in praising Domitian and his weakness is an additional explana-

tion. In this way, Apollonius flatters Domitian, which is in accordance with the general tenor of the speech.

The transmitted ὄντως is difficult to explain: why should Apollonius stress that "human nature is *truly* [my emphasis–GJB] more inclined to praise things for which it lacks the strength itself" (Jones)? The older editions have οὕτως with Laur.69.26, for which Jacobs proposed reading ἄλλως, translating the phrase as "überdies aber ist auch die menschliche Natur vorzüglich geneigt, Dasjenige zu loben, was sie selbst nicht vermag"; cf. LSJ s.v. ἄλλως I.2.a. Reiske's πως is attractive as well. One might also think of αὖτως.

8.7.32 (p. 274.15) ἢ πῶς ἔτ' ἐγὼ σοφὸς γνώμην ἑρμηνεύειν **ἀνδρὸς** μαντικῇ μὲν πιστεύων, ἀπιστῶν δὲ σοφίᾳ;

⟨τ⟩ἀνδρὸς Jones

Jones translates this sentence as follows: "How could I still be wise enough to discern the man's intention, if I trusted in divination and mistrusted wisdom?"[223] This means that Apollonius would actually lose his wisdom if he trusted in divination instead of wisdom. In itself, this would seem strange. But the main problem with this interpretation is that σοφός is used in another sense than σοφία: σοφός means "able to", σοφία means "wisdom". This is obscured in Jones' translation "wise enough to" but clearly expressed in Mooij's "in staat". I agree with the majority of translators who take the sentence as "And how can I still be called clever, if, to interpret a man's mind, I trust mantic arts and distrust cleverness?" (Phillimore); that is, Apollonius would lose his reputation of being wise if he took recourse to divination instead of trusting in wisdom. Because this statement has general validity I think that Jones' τἀνδρός, which refers specifically to Nerva, is unnecessary. Moreover, in *VA* there is only one occurrence of τἀνδρός, namely 3.39 (p. 100.21).[224]

8.7.32 (p. 274.17) τὸν δὲ Ὄρφιτον καὶ τὸν Ῥοῦφον, τοὺς δικαίους μὲν καὶ σώφρονας, νωθροὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ὡς εὖ οἶδα, εἰ μὲν ὡς **τυραννησείοντας** διαβεβλῆσθαί φασιν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε τούτων πλέον διαμαρτάνουσιν, εἴτε Νέρουα.

τυραννησείοντας Reiske[2] (et Abresch) : τυραννεύσοντας **AS E FQ** : τυραννεύσοντε Bentley : τυραννευσείοντας Kayser[2Adn]

At 5.33.3 (p. 168.23) Kayser[2] prints τυραννησείοντι for the transmitted τυραννεύοντι; in his note to the passage he remarks "nunc malim τυραννευσείοντι". In my note to the passage I have argued that the transmitted τυραννεύοντι suits the context perfectly. In the

223 Jones is followed by Mooij: "Of hoe zou ik nog in staat zijn iemands bedoeling te interpreteren als ik vertrouwde op waarzeggerij en niet op wijsheid?"

224 At 8.29 (p. 294.12–13), where Kayser prints τἀνδρός with the older editions, all mss. have τοῦ ἀνδρός.

present passage, however, the transmitted τυραννεύσοντας is untenable because in an embedded predication the future participle cannot express intention: while it possible to say τῷ Δομιτιανῷ ἐπεβουλεύοντο ὡς τυραννεύσοντες, "they plotted against Domitian with the intention to become emperors", it is impossible to use the future participle when it depends on διαβεβλῆσθαι with the meaning "they were accused of having the intention to become emperors". Therefore I have accepted Reiske's conjecture, which was made independently by Abresch. The verb τυραννησείω is only attested at D.L. 1.65 ἐγὼ (= Solon) δὴ θέμενος πρὸ τοῦ στρατηγείου τὰ ὅπλα εἶπον τῶν μὲν μὴ αἰσθανομένων Πεισίστρατον τυραννησείοντα εἶναι ξυνετώτερος, τῶν δὲ ὀκνούντων ἀμύνεσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος. Its very rarity must have caused the corruption into τυραννεύσοντας. Kayser's τυραννευσείοντας is less attractive because the verb τυραννευσείω is nowhere attested.

8.7.33 (p. 275.1) πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ἔσται δῆλα; ἐνθυμήθητι, βασιλεῦ, σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρὸ σοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἀδελφὸν δήπου τὸν σεαυτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, Νέρωνά τε, **ἐφ' ᾧ{ν} ἦρξαν**.

ἐφ' ᾧ{ν} ἦρξαν (aut ἐφ' οἷς ἦρξας) Reiske[1/2] (illud et Madvig)

The transmitted ἐφ' ὧν ἦρξαν is interpreted in various ways. Some take it to mean "how long these have ruled" (Jones; similarly Olearius); but extension of time is expressed by ἐπί with the accusative (LSJ s.v. C.II.1) and not with the genitive, which indicates "*in the time of*" (LSJ s.v. A.II.a). Others interpret it as "under whom they held office" (Conybeare); but then the question arises as to whom "whom" refers: this cannot be Nero alone, because ὧν is plural;[225] if it refers to Nero, Vespasian and Titus, there is nobody left to serve as the subject of ἦρξαν; it would also be strange to use the verb ἄρχειν with two different meanings in the same sentence, namely as "reign as emperor" and "hold office". Others, again, leave the phrase untranslated (Jacobs, Chassang, Phillimore). Reiske's conjecture ἐφ' ᾧ ἦρξαν means that Vespasian and Titus succeeded Nero. The sentence is a tricolon: think of your own reign, the reigns of your brother and father, and the reign of their predecessor Nero. This gives a satisfactory text. For ἐπί + dative in this sense in Philostratus see 5.32.2 (p. 167.16) τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ [= Τιβερίῳ] Γάϊον.

8.7.34 (p. 275.16) καὶ μὴν ὁπόσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατούς, δηλοῖ τὰ Εὐφράτου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν **⟨χρήματα⟩**—τί λέγω χρήματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι πλούτου, κἀπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἤδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος κτέ.

ἐντεῦθεν ⟨χρήματα⟩ scripsi praeeunte Headlam (ἐντεῦθεν ⟨ἄπλετα χρήματα⟩ vel ἐντεῦθεν ⟨χρήματα πλεῖστα⟩)

Headlam 1895, 261 remarks: "I cannot think the reading sound. According to the examples known to me of this rhetorical construction, if he is to say τί λέγω χ.; he should

225 Del Corno translates the phrase as "sotto il quale", thus making the plural ὧν refer exclusively to Nero.

have mentioned χρήματα before." Headlam quotes two similar passages in *VA*: 3.46.2 (p. 104.14) πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἰσποιεῖ αὑτῇ—τί λέγω τὸ ἐγγύς; and 8.26.2 (p. 292.26–28) "θαρρεῖτε," εἶπεν "ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἀπέσφακται τήμερον—τί λέγω τήμερον; ἄρτι, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἄρτι κτέ." The idiom is first found in Ar. *Eccl*. 299 ὅπως δὲ τὸ σύμβολον | λαβόντες ἔπειτα πλη- | σίοι καθεδούμεθ', ὡς | ἂν χειροτονῶμεν | ἅπανθ' ὁπόσ' ἂν δέῃ | τὰς ἡμετέρας φίλας— | καίτοι τί λέγω; φίλους | γὰρ χρῆν μ' ὀνομάζειν. Galen was especially fond of the idiom; see for instance *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas* 6 καίτοι γε οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οἰκέτην μὲν ἐνίοτε δραχμῶν εἶναι μυρίων ἄξιον, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ μηδὲ μιᾶς; καὶ τί λέγω μιᾶς; οὐδ' ἂν προῖκά τις τὸν τοιοῦτον λάβοι; *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 1.6.5 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ὁτιοῦν ⟨καὶ⟩ ταὐτόν, ὁπόσα τε καὶ ὁποῖα καταλαμβάνει τὸ σύμπαν σῶμα παθήματα κοιλίας ἐγκεφάλου τρωθείσης. καίτοι τί λέγω τρωθείσης; *ibid.* 3.7.7–8 δίκαιος οὖν ἐστιν ἐπιδεῖξαι καθ' ἓν ⟨καὶ⟩ ταὐτὸν σπλάγχνον ἀμφοτέρας ᾠκισμένας τὰς δυνάμεις. καίτοι τί λέγω καὶ καθ' ἓν καὶ ταὐτόν; See also Aristid. 434.31 Jebb καλὸν δὲ τῇ Σκύρῳ νῦν προσχεῖν (malim προσ⟨σ⟩χεῖν). καὶ τί φήσεις πρὸς τὸν παῖδα τὸν σαυτοῦ; τί τῇ γυναικὶ δόξεις εἶναι βελτίων εἰπών; καὶ τί λέγω Σκῦρον ἢ γυναῖκα;[226]

Headlam points out that in Eusebius the reading τί λέγω seems doubtful (the older editions reading ἄπληστα instead) but in his time there was not yet a critical edition of Eusebius' treatise. In the apparatus in Des Places' edition we find that the first family and part of the second family have the reading of the mss. of *VA*, while other members of the second family have ἄπληστα instead of τί λέγω. This shows that the archetype of Eusebius' treatise agrees with the direct tradition. I think that ἄπληστα is a conjecture, introduced to give a smooth text. On the basis of the evidence available to him Headlam suggested ἐντεῦθεν ⟨ἄπλετα χρήματα⟩ or ἐντεῦθεν ⟨χρήματα πλεῖστα⟩. Now that we know that ἄπληστα cannot have been the reading of the archetype of Eusebius I think that χρήματα alone will do as a supplement to the transmitted text. The text then reads: τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ⟨χρήματα⟩—τί λέγω χρήματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι πλούτου. The sentence is a combination of *aposiopesis* and *correctio*, for which see Schmid 4.530–531. The self-correction is of the same type as in the passage from Aristophanes quoted above. The fact that the sentence τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ⟨χρήματα⟩ is elliptic may well have been the cause of the omission of ⟨χρήματα⟩. The variant reading ἄπληστα in a part of the transmission of Eusebius shows that others too had difficulties with the phrase.

8.7.34 (p. 275.19–20) (...) ἐντετύπωται δ' ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν θύραις καὶ **προσέστηκεν** αὐταῖς πλείω καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, **ἀπηλάθη** δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι κτέ.

προσέστηκεν **AS FQ** : προέστηκεν **E** : προστέτηκεν Jacobs$^{4/6}$ ‖ ἀπηλάθη Jacobs$^{4/6}$ (et Cobet) : ἀπελήφθη **AS FQ** : ἀπελίφθη **E** : ἀπελείφθη Eus. : ἠπειλήθη Holstenius apud Olearium : ἀπειλήθη Reiske$^{1/2}$ (et Madvig)

226 Headlam also quotes some variations of the phrase without τί, e.g. D. 18.130 ὀψὲ γάρ ποτε—ὀψὲ λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονεν.

Jacobs defends his ingenious conjecture προστέτηκεν as follows: "Wir lesen προστέτηκεν αὐταῖς, statt προσέστηκεν, da es kaum glaublich ist, daß Philostr. nach dem kräftig-bildlichen ἐντετύπωται, das matt-prosaische προσέστηκεν habe folgen lassen." For the occurrence of προστέτηκεν in Philostratus Jacobs refers to *VS* 2.1.18.3 (p. 77.24 Stefec) προσέκειτο μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς, τῷ δὲ Κριτίᾳ καὶ προσετετήκει κτέ. At first sight Jacobs' conjecture is very attractive but Apollonius compares Euphrates' behaviour with that of the doorkeepers with regard to the time they spend at the doors; and while προστέτηκεν might apply perfectly to Euphrates, it does not apply to the doorkeepers. And therefore I have stuck to the transmitted text.

The reading ἀπελήφθη, transmitted in the mss., can only mean "he has been barred" (Jones) but this is superfluous after προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλείω καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, which implies that the doorkeepers kept him waiting at the entrance without admitting him. Moreover, as Jacobs points out, ἀπελήφθη does not suit the comparison with dogs. Some translators take it as "he was locked up" (e.g. Chassang ["de se trouver enfermé à l'intérieur"], Phillimore ["he has often been caught and shut up"]) but apart from the fact that this meaning is questionable it does not suit the comparison with hungry dogs either. What is needed, is a verb meaning "chase away" and this is what some translators actually have, e.g. "anche se sovente costoro lo scacciano" (Del Corno), "Er ist auch schon öfters von den Wächtern verjagt worden" (Mumprecht), "al vaak is hij door hen weggejaagd" (Mooij).

Of the proposed conjectures, ἀπειλήθη is closest to the transmitted reading. Madvig 1871, 712 points out that the verb is found in Herodotus, namely at 1.24.4, 2.141.3, 8.109.2 and 9.34.2 (at 2.141.3 it is a conjecture by Reiske). But in these passages it is always used metaphorically in combination with ἐς ἀπορίην/ἀναγκαίην/στεινόν. At *VS* 1.19.45.2 (p. 27.20 Stefec) Stefec accepts Reiske's εἰς στενὸν ἀπειλημένην for the transmitted εἰς στενὸν ἀπειλημμένην, in which I think he is right. In our passage, however, the verb is used absolutely and therefore I prefer Jacobs' ἀπηλάθη, even though it is further removed from the transmitted reading. The combination of ἀπελαύνω and κύνες is found for instance at J. *AJ* 6.186, Plu. 294c2–3 and Lib. *Or*. 25.33.

8.7.35 (p. 276.9) μέχρι τούτων ἐμὲ κρίνουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς λόγος τῶν θεῶν ἅπτεται· φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ὧδε **εὐξαμένου**, δοῦναι δὲ ἱερὰ εὔσημα καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀσεβοῦντα.

εὐξαμένου **E FQ** : μου εὐξαμένου **AS**

The context suffices to make clear that Apollonius himself is the subject of the participle εὐξαμένου, because the preceding sentence ends with the word εὔχεσθαι. For the omission of the pronoun I have found two parallel passages in *VA*: 1.4 (p. 5.8–9) "σὺ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης (sc. τῆς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μητρός) "Πρωτεὺς" ἔφη "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος θεός"; 2.38 (p. 69.23–24) "(...) δεῖ γάρ με τὴν εἰθισμένην εὐχὴν εὔξασθαι." "Καὶ ἀκούοι γε εὐχομένου" ἔφη. I think that μου was added in the source of **AS** for clarity's sake. Schmid 4.106 re-

marks: "Ellipsen verschiedener Art wurden als Eleganz und Besonderheit des attischen Dialekts angesehen (...). Philostratos ist damit ungemein freigebig."

8.7.39 (p. 277.19) καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός, οἶμαι, **ἀγαθῶν** δεῖσθαί σφας ὑπὲρ καθαρῶν θυμάτων.

ἀγαθῶν] ἀγαθῶν ⟨μηδενὸς⟩ Jacobs[6] : ⟨μὴ⟩ ἀγαθῶν Piccolos

The problems in this sentence concern the identification of ἀγαθῶν and of σφας. Olearius has "Neque absonum est, ut ego quidem censeo, ut Diis, qui boni sunt, precentur adhibitis sacrificiis purioribus", in which ἀγαθῶν refers to the gods (because the gods are good) and σφας to the Pythagoreans c.s.; but it is very strange to use the general ἀγαθῶν for gods without any further qualification. Kayser[1], in his note to the passage (p. 197), takes ἀγαθῶν as referring to the Pythagoreans c.s. and σφας to the gods: "[Apollonius] dicit deos bonis viris indigere, qui pura ipsis offerant sacra". This interpretation is accepted, among others, by Chassang, Westermann, Jones and Mooij; thus Jones translates "It is not implausible, I think, that the gods need virtuous men in order to receive pure offerings". But again, how should we know that ἀγαθῶν refers to these men? And what is more: what is the logic of the phrase in this context?

Rinuccino translates "Nec absurdum profecto videtur illos a diis immortalibus bona impetrare, qui pure mundeque sacrificant", taking ἀγαθῶν as neuter ("bona") and σφας as referring to the Pythagoreans and others who bring bloodless sacrifices and translating δεῖσθαι as "impetrare".[227] I believe that this is correct. At first sight this interpretation might seem to contradict the statement in the preceding sentence, namely that the Pythagoreans c.s. do not need anything, but the ἀγαθά in the present sentence should not be taken as material but rather as spiritual goods. The thought is then: the Pythagoreans c.s. don't need all kind of material stuff but they ask "good things" from the gods, by which we are to understand wisdom, contentedness, peace of mind and so on. This interpretation gives a good transition to the next sentence. For the use of σφας rather than αὐτούς see KG 1.568 Anmerk. 9 *ad finem*, who quote X. *An.* 5.4.33 ἐζήτουν (sc. οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι) δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑταίραις ἃς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐμφανῶς ξυγγίγνεσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν οὗτός σφισι, where the γάρ-clause tells something about the state of mind of the Mossynoeci. In our passage the sentence starting with καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός is concerned with the considerations of the Pythagoreans c.s. Thus it is unnecessary to alter the transmitted text, as Jacobs and Piccolos do by adding a negation to ἀγαθῶν.

227 Phillimore and Conybeare agree with Rinuccino in taking ἀγαθῶν as neuter but it is not clear whether they take σφας as referring to the gods or to the Pythagoreans c.s. because in their translations they leave the subject of δεῖσθαι unexpressed: "And I hold that it is not unreasonable to beg good gifts from the gods in return for clean oblations" (Phillimore), "Nor do I think that it is absurd to ask the gods for benefits in exchange for pure sacrifices" (Conybeare). According to LSJ s.v. δέω B.II.2 δέομαι sometimes has the accusative for the person to whom a request is directed so that it is possible to take σφας as referring to the gods.

8.7.41 (p. 278.11) εἰ μὲν ὡς σεαυτὸν ἐρωτᾷς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ ἐρωτᾶν ἥκεις, ἀγῶνας ἡτοίμαζον καὶ κατηγορίας ἐπ᾽ ἄνδρας χρηστοὺς καὶ **ἀπολέσαι** τοὺς οὐκ ἀδικοῦντας καὶ πεῖσαι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀληθῆ λέγων, ἵν᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν εὐδοκιμοίην, μιαίνοιτο δὲ οὗτος.

ἀπολέσαι Kayser^{1App} Kayser^{2T} : ἀπολεῖσθαι **S E FQ** : ἀπολογεῖσθαι **A** : ἀπολέσθαι ⟨ἐσπούδαζον⟩ vel ἀπολέσθαι ⟨ἐπειρώμην⟩ Reiske^{2} ("aut alias καὶ ante ἀπολέσθαι erit delendum")

It seems to be imperative to accept Kayser's ἀπολέσαι. In itself, ἀπολέσθαι is closer to the transmitted readings but the middle voice is impossible here. I assume that the authentic ἀπολέσαι was corrupted into ἀπολογεῖσθαι as a result of the context, namely Apollonius' ἀπολογία. The scribes of **S** and of **E FQ** must have realized that ἀπολογεῖσθαι is the opposite of what is needed and therefore conjectured ἀπολεῖσθαι. But I readily admit that this explanation is rather speculative.

8.7.42 (p. 279.6) οὐ γὰρ ἐν προαστ{ε}ίοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἄστει, οὐκ ἔξω τείχους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ οἰκίας, οὐδὲ παρὰ Νέρουᾳ, παρὰ Φιλίσκῳ δέ, οὐδὲ ἀποσφάττων, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς εὐχόμενος, οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας, οὐδ᾽ ἀντὶ σοῦ χειροτονῶν **τιν᾽ ἕτερον**, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνδρα σώζων ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιον.

τιν᾽ ἕτερον Phillimore : νεώτερον **AS E FQ**

Almost all translators render the transmitted phrase οὐδ᾽ ἀντὶ σοῦ χειροτονῶν νεώτερον as "I was not planning a revolution against you", e.g. "non adversus te res novas moliens" (Rinuccino), "nec nova adversum te molitus" (Olearius), "nicht gegen Dich Neuerungen zu beschließen" (Jacobs), "je ne tramais pas de complot contre vous" (Chassang), "nicht zur Verschwörung gegen dich" (Mumprecht). There are three arguments against this interpretation. First, the preposition *ἀντί* does not mean "against" (in a hostile sense) but "instead of"; second, χειροτονέω does not mean "plan" or "do" but "appoint"; third, for "revolution" or "something unpleasant" Philostratus always has the plural νεώτερα, either substantivated or combined with a noun or pronoun (see for instance 1.12.2 [p.12.6], 4.24.3 [p. 127.5], 5.13.1 [p. 154.21]), with the exception of 4.34.4 (p. 135.19) where νεώτερον is combined with μηδέν. Jones must have been aware of these objections because he has "not replacing you with someone else". I agree that this is what we need here but νεώτερος means "someone younger" and not "someone else"; and Apollonius was accused of promoting Nerva, who was much older than Domitian. Besides, I doubt whether Philostratus could use νεώτερος without the indefinite pronoun for "someone younger". Therefore I agree with Phillimore that νεώτερον must be corrupt and I find his suggestion τιν᾽ ἕτερον convincing: "not electing another in your stead". The corruption of τιν᾽ ἕτερον into νεώτερον may be due to perseveration of τοῦ νεώτερα πράττειν in 8.7.40 (p. 278.5).

8.7.43 (p. 279.16) καὶ εἴ τι ἐν ἀνθρώπου σπλάγχνοις ἢ σαφέστερον ἢ σοφώτερον ἢ ἐτυμώτερον ἀπέκειτο, οὐκ ἄπορος ἦν ἡ θυσία, βασιλέων γε **παρισταμένων αὐτοῖς**, οἷς πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἰνοχόοι κτέ.

παρισταμένων αὐτοῖς **AS E FQ** : προϊσταμένων αὐτῆς Kayser[2]

Kayser's conjecture, which was accepted by Jones, is unnecessary. The kings themselves did not have the lead in the sacrifices, which were the priests' job. Apollonius means that if the priests had wished to bring human sacrifices, they would have had the possibility to do so because they could count on the unconditional support of the kings they served.

8.7.46 (p. 280.19) οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀγωνίζεται μὴ τἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ, καὶ ὁ μέν σε ἡγεῖται δεσπότην, ἐγὼ δ' ἄρχοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμέ σοι δίδωσιν, ἐγὼ **δὲ νοῦν**.

δὲ νοῦν Jacobs[4/6] : μὲν οὖν **AS**[ac] **E** : δ' οὖν **FQ** : δὲ οὗ (sic) **S**[2pc] : μὲν οὐκ Scaliger : μὲν οὗ Bentley : δὲ ψῆφον Reiske[2] : δὲ λόγον Kayser[1/2] : δὲ νόμον Jacobs[4/6] : δὲ οὖς Madvig

The archetype must have had μὲν οὖν, because this is the reading of **AS**[ac] and **E**. The scribe of **FQ** saw that μέν is impossible, immediately after the preceding clause καὶ ὁ μὲν ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμέ σοι δίδωσιν and replaced it by δέ. Changing οὖν into οὗ (Bentley), οὐκ (Scaliger) or οὗ (**S**[2pc]) does not help: what is needed is a noun contrasting with ξίφος. Five nouns have been proposed: ψῆφον (Reiske[2]), νοῦν (Jacobs), νόμον (Jacobs), λόγον (Kayser) and οὖς (Madvig). Reiske's ψῆφον is possible in itself but it is too far removed from the transmitted text. Madvig's οὖς looks ingenious, but how can Apollonius say that he gave Domitian an ear to listen to him (= Apollonius)? Kayser defends his λόγον by referring to the proem of Apollonius' speech (8.7.2 [p. 262.20]), ἀλλὰ ξυνθέμενος τοῖς νόμοις ἔστηκα ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ ("I submitted to the laws, and am standing trial" [Jones]), but I fail to see why this phrase should justify λόγον in the present passage. Of Jacobs' two conjectures νοῦν is the most attractive. While Euphrates offers a sword to Domitian against Apollonius, Apollonius offers Domitian good sense against Euphrates. Kayser, in his note to the 1844 edition (p. 197), rejects this conjecture because it is "impudentis"; but to my mind it is prepared by the phrase σοφώτερόν σε ἀκροατὴν εἴργασμαι which we find a few lines earlier in the speech (8.7.45 [p. 280.12]). Moreover, δὲ νοῦν is closest to the transmitted text. For once, it is helpful to write the text in majuscules without diacritics: ΔΕΝΟΥΝ can easily be misread as ΜΕΝΟΥΝ and then interpreted as μὲν οὖν, a collocation which occurs very frequently; it involves the change of only one letter. And thus I have accepted Jacobs' ingenious proposal.

8.7.47 (p. 281.6) τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήπου ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς Λαΐους **Ἀστυάγην** τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους εὖ τίθεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν ἀρχῇ δόξαντας κτέ.

Ἀστυάγην Eus. : Ἀστυάγη **AS E FQ**

Schmid 4.21 remarks that in Philostratus the accusative of proper names in -ης almost always ends in -ην. The only exceptions (apart from the present passage) are *VS* 2.11.45.11 (p. 102.11 Stefec) Διογένη and *Her.* 31.6 (p. 40.6 De Lannoy) Παλαμήδη; Stefec, De Lannoy and Follet do not record variant readings. The TLG gives only two hits for the accusative Ἀστυάγη, both in the same passage in Tzetzes (*Chil.* 1.1.90, 97), against 71 cases of Ἀστυάγην. Therefore I have followed Eusebius here, although in general he does not seem to be a safe guide in such matters.

It is coincidental that only a few lines below there is another instance of a proper name which is preserved in its correct form in Eusebius while the direct tradition is wrong. In 8.7.48 (p. 281.11) Eusebius has Βιτελλίου against Βιτελίου of the mss. The name of Vitellius occurs twelve times in *VA*. In ten of these cases the form with -λλ- is found in **A** and **E** (with one exception for **E**, namely 5.13.2 [p. 155.4] where **E** has βητέλιος). In 5.11 (p. 154.1) I have restored it by conjecture. In the present passage all mss. of *VA* have -λ-, while Eusebius has -λλ-.

8.11 (p. 283.19) (...) ὁ δ' εὐλαβέστερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀκροώμενον εἰκὸς **διατεθεὶς ἦν** ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, καὶ πάλιν τῆς ὑστεραίας ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἠρώτα κτέ.

διατεθεὶς ἦν] ἦν διατεθεὶς Reiske[2]

Reiske proposes reading εἰκὸς ἦν, διατεθείς, that is, according to him ἦν belongs to εἰκός and not to διατεθείς. He claims that καί before πάλιν is a scope particle, comparable to collocations such as καὶ πᾶς and καὶ σφόδρα (for which see Denniston 1954, 317–318). I believe that this claim is unjustified. Jones, who accepts Reiske's transposition, translates "Hearing this made Demetrius more concerned than was natural", and thus he translates διατεθείς as a main verb, contrary to Reiske's interpretation. To my mind, the word order as we have it in our mss. exactly aims at avoiding the ambiguity of the role of ἦν, which in combination with διατεθείς is periphrastic for διετέθη.

8.12.4 (p. 285.5) (...) ἃ δ' οὔπω ἴστε, **διερῶ** ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως καὶ τοῦ γυμνὸς ἐσελθεῖν.

διερῶ Cobet : διείρων **E FQ** : δίειμι διείρων **S** : τὸ δίειμι διείρων **A** : λ(είπει) τὸ δίειμι **F**[lmg]

Cobet 1859, 160 remarks that δίειμι was added by a "levis corrector" and he must be right. The first hand of **F** adds the marginal note λ(είπει) τὸ δίειμι, which must also have been present in the source of **A** and **S**; **A** inadvertently wrote τὸ δίειμι in the text. It must have been based on διήει in the next sentence. In itself the collocation δίειμι διείρων is clumsy and cacophonous. Cobet argues that first διερῶ was corrupted into διείρω and then into διείρων. It is also possible that it first became διερῶν and then διείρων.

8.14 (p. 286.6) Περὶ δὲ ὄρθρον ἐρομένου αὐτὸν τοῦ Δημητρίου, ποῖ τῆς γῆς τρέψοιτο, καὶ κτυπεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος τὰ ὦτα ὑπὸ ἐννοίας ἱππέων, οὓς ᾤετο **ἐπικείσεσθαι** ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ τυράννου "διώξεται μὲν" ἔφη κτέ.

ἐπικείσεσθαι **AS** : ἐπικεῖσθαι **E FQ**

The future infinitive with ἤδη is preferable because it stresses the immediate danger which Damis believes threatens Apollonius. For ἤδη with the future see for instance X. *An*. 7.1.8 ὁ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνδρῳ τῷ ἁρμοστῇ ξένος γεγενημένος προσελθὼν ἠσπάζετο αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποπλευσούμενος ἤδη (quoted by KG 2.121). The change into the present infinitive ἐπικεῖσθαι may be partly due to *Echoschreibung* of the preceding infinitive κτυπεῖσθαι.

8.15.2 (p. 287.1) πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μηδ' ἐλπίδος τι ἀνθρωπείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ δεδέσθαι αὐτὸν ἤκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἀνήκοοι ἦσαν ἀποθανεῖν καταφλεχθέντα, οἱ δ' **ἑλχθῆναι** ζῶντα καταπαγέντων ἐς τὰς κλεῖδας αὐτοῦ ἀγκίστρων, οἱ δ' ἐῶσθαι εἰς βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς βυθόν.

ἑλχθῆναι Jacobs[6] : ἐαθῆναι **AS E FQ** : num κρεμασθῆναι ?

When Apollonius arrives at Olympia people at first find it hard to believe that indeed he is still alive after the process. It is even rumoured that he has been put to death; several ways of execution are reported. For the second of these the mss. have οἱ δ' ἐαθῆναι ζῶντα καταπαγέντων ἐς τὰς κλεῖδας αὐτοῦ ἀγκίστρων.

Jacobs, in his German translation, proposes reading ἑλχθῆναι for ἐαθῆναι; he gives a striking parallel from Ovid's *Ibis* 165–166, "Carnificisque manu, populo plaudente, traheris, | infixusque tuis ossibus uncus erit": "The hand of the executioner shall drag thee, amid the plaudits of the mob, and his hook shall be fixed in thy bones" (tr. Mozley).[228] Jacobs also refers to Juvenal 10.66–67, "Seianus ducitur unco | spectandus, gaudent omnes", "Sejanus is being dragged by a hook — a sight worth seeing. Everyone's celebrating" (tr. Braund). However, being dragged by the hook through the streets of Rome concerned the corpse of the executed person, as is explained by Mayor in his elaborate note on Juvenal 10.66: "*Uncus* is the hook or drag, fastened under the chin, by which the corpses of convicts were drawn from the neighbouring *carcer*, where they had been strangled, to the *Scalae Gemoniae*."[229] In our passage, however, it is expressly stated that Apollonius was alive when he was being dragged; probably, this was intended to add to his torture, agony and disgrace; at any rate, we are suppose to infer that he died as a result of this horrible treatment, which would seem to be an exceptional way of killing a victim.

Although I think that Jacobs' conjecture hits the mark, I think it worth while to investigate other possibilities. Olearius (following Rinuccino) translates the transmitted text as "aliis vivum relictum, sed uncinis cervici impactis tortum esse [aientibus]".

228 See also Gordon ad loc.

229 Similarly, Courtney ad loc. comments: "His corpse is being dragged from the *carcer* (13.245) to the *scalae Gemoniae* (cf. 86)."

He does not explain how we are to imagine this way of execution. We might think of the cruel method of *apotympanismos*: the victim was tied to a plank and then left to die. This method, cognate to crucifixion, was practiced in archaic and classical Athens; see Kucharski 2015, 24–27. On p. 26, Kucharski writes: "The convict, dying from exposure, may very well have been left hanging, perhaps on the neck-collar"; in n. 65 he refers to Hdt. 9.120.4 σανίδι προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν; Ar. *Th*. 1028 ἐκρέμασέ με κόραξι δεῖπνον; 1054 ὡς ἐκρεμάσθην, λαιμότμητ' ἄχη δαιμόνι'(α). If indeed Philostratus thought of this kind of execution, I doubt whether the transmitted ἐαθῆναι is the appropriate word; I would expect rather some verb like λειφθῆναι. As an alternative, we might think of κρεμασθῆναι, a verb which is regularly found to indicate crucifixion. But I am well aware that this is rather far removed from ἐαθῆναι. All in all, I think it wisest to accept Jacobs' ingenious conjecture, which can be explained as the result of misreading the labda for an alpha, with omission of the chi.

8.15.2 (p. 287.11) (...) οἱ μὲν ξυγγεγονότες ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἀνακτησόμενοι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ πλειόνων τε καὶ θαυμασιωτέρων **ἀκροάσεσθαι** ᾤοντο, οἱ δ' ἄπειροι αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἀνήκοοι φαίνεσθαι.

ἀκροάσεσθαι **FQ** (ci. Reiske[2] Richards) : ἀκροάσασθαι **A E**

Because οἴεσθαι governs a declarative infinitive the aorist is impossible here; it would mean "they thought they had heard". Kayser[1] prints the future infinitive in the text but in the corrigenda (at the end of the work, p. 79) he states that this is a misprint for ἀκροάσασθαι; the aorist is also printed in the 1870 edition. The same corruption is found at 7.32.3 (p. 249.18) ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς ἀπορρήτων τε λαμπρῶν ἀκροάσεσθαι ᾤετο, where ἀκροάσεσθαι is found in **FQ**, **A** reading ἀκροάσασθαι and **E** ἀκροᾶσθαι. In both cases the reading of **FQ**, very probably a conjecture, was also proposed by Richards, who did not take the trouble of consulting the apparatus of Kayser's 1844 edition. Reiske's enigmatic note runs: "malim ἀκροάσεσθαι (in futuro) tametsi non nescio, saepe aoristum pro futuro usurpari."

8.16 (p. 287.20) "πέπαυσο" εἶπεν "Ὀλυμπίασιν ὑπὲρ τούτων **ἐρωτῶν** καὶ διαβάλλων τὴν θεὸν τῷ πατρί."

ἐρωτῶν **A E FQ** : κροτῶν Kayser[1C] Kayser[2T]

Kayser's conjecture κροτῶν is supposed to mean something like "chatter" (Conybeare) or "babbling" (Jones); indeed, the stem κροτ- is repeatedly found in Philostratus with this meaning, for instance at *VA* 7.14.10 (p. 234.17–18) πάντα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἤθη κροτοῦσά τε καὶ ᾄδουσα. Kayser must have reasoned that ἐρωτῶν cannot be right because the youth is making a statement and not asking a question. But as LSJ s.v. ἐρωτάω II.2 mention, in later Greek the verb can mean "*submit, set forth, propound* an argument" and that is what the word means in our passage.

8.18.2 (p. 288.21) "ἆρ' οὖν," εἶπεν "ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τείχη καὶ ναῦς ἡγοῦνται τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἡγησόμεθα, ἢ ἑτέρας ἐπ' **αὐτοῖς δέοι** δόξης;"

αὐτοῖς **A E FQ** : αὐταῖς Olearius : αὐτῆς Kayser[2] ‖ δέοι **A** : δέῃ Kayser[1] : δεήσει Reiske[1] : om. **E FQ**

With reference to Nicias' famous words in Th. 7.77.7 ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί[230] Apollonius asks whether we should apply this image to men at a feast as well. In our passage, τοὺς ἄνδρας is used *apo koinou*, belonging to both ἡγοῦνται in the auxiliary clause and ἡγησόμεθα in the main clause. Therefore it is better to print a comma after τοὺς ἄνδρας than before it, as is the case in the editions. Kayser replaces the transmitted αὐτοῖς by αὐτῆς, which refers to the πανήγυρις. Apart from the fact that πανήγυρις is pretty far removed from αὐτῆς, the article in τοὺς ἄνδρας shows that this is the object, with τείχη καὶ ναῦς as the predicate. Therefore αὐτοῖς is exactly what we need.

The optative δέοι without ἄν (which Schmid 4.89 calls the "optativus urbanitatis") is found elsewhere too in Philostratus. If one feels the need to get rid of it, it would be better to write δεήσει (with Reiske) or δεῖ than Kayser's δέῃ.

8.18.2 (p. 288.24) δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ νῆες ἀνδρῶν δεῖσθαι καὶ ἄνδρες νηῶν καὶ μηδ' ἂν ἐνθυμηθῆναί ποτε **ἀνθρώποις** τὴν θάλατταν, εἰ μὴ ναῦς ἦν κτέ.

ἀνθρώποις **E FQ** : ἀνθρώπους **A**

Although Philostratus in other passages always uses the middle ἐνθυμέομαι with an active meaning I think that in this case we are dealing with the passive meaning accompanied by the *dativus auctoris*. For the active ἐνθυμέω with a corresponding passive meaning of the passive forms see LSJ s.v. II. Schmid 4.59 remarks that the *dativus auctoris* is very frequent in Philostratus. Because the dative is definitely *lectio difficilior* I have adopted it.

8.19.1 (p. 289.10–11) "καὶ κατὰ πόλεις μὲν" ἔφη "διαλέξομαι ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐν πανηγύρεσιν, ἐν πομπαῖς, ἐν μυστηρίοις, ἐν θυσίαις, ἐν σπονδαῖς, **ἐν σπουδαῖς** (ἀστείου δὲ ἀνδρὸς δέονται), νῦν δὲ εἰς Λεβάδειαν χρὴ καταβῆναί με κτέ."

ἐν σπουδαῖς **A E** : om. **FQ**

In **A** and **E**, the enumeration of the occasions whereby Apollonius announces speaking in public ends with ἐν σπονδαῖς, ἐν σπουδαῖς. **FQ** omit ἐν σπουδαῖς, in which they are followed by all editions except Morel, who has only ἐν σπουδαῖς, which must be a printing error, because he translates it as "in libationibus". Olearius, who records that Urbinas gr. 110 (which derives from **E**) has ἐν σπονδαῖς, ἐν σπουδαῖς, argues that one of the readings originally stood in the margin of a ms. as a variant reading for the other, and that subsequently both readings found their place in the text. Possibly, the scribe of **FQ**

230 In my edition, this reference should be added as a *fons* on p. 288 and in the *index fontium* on p. 306.

reasoned similarly. To us, the juxtaposition of almost homophonous words may seem awkward but there is another striking instance of this phenomenon at 1.2.3 (p. 4.5) ὑπὲρ ἐθῶν, ὑπὲρ ἠθῶν, where Olearius states that one of the two should be omitted. Schmid 4.501–502 gives a list of cases of paronomasia in Philostratus. For σπουδή in the sense of "serious discussions" see for instance 4.34.4 (p. 135.24). At *Her.* 45.5 (p. 58.27 De Lannoy) σπουδαί are contrasted with συμπόσια. In our passage ἐν σπουδαῖς creates a contrastive ring composition with ἐν πανηγύρεσιν. The immediately following clause ἀστείου δὲ ἀνδρὸς δέονται seems to refer specifically to ἐν σπουδαῖς, where the input of a witty and educated person is especially welcome.

8.19.1 (p. 289.13) καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐχώρει δὴ **ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας** οὐδενὸς λειπομένου τῶν θαυμαζόντων αὐτόν.

ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας **A E FQ** : ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας Jacobs[6]

In the apparatus of Kayser's 1844 edition we read "Fo(rtasse): ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας". Kayser[2] prints ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας in his text; in his note he ascribes the conjecture to Jacobs. Indeed, Jacobs translates "Nach diesen Worten begab er sich nach Böotien", without adding a note to his translation; I have not found anything on this passage in other publications by Jacobs. To my mind the change is unnecessary. Surely, Lebadeia lies in Boeotia but the phrase ἐχώρει ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας just means "he went in the direction of Arcadia", which does not necessarily imply that this was the final goal of his journey. Possibly, Philostratus wishes to make clear that Apollonius followed the route by land via Arcadia and the Isthmus, rather than the route via Achaia and then by ship across the Corinthian Gulf. For ἐπί + genitive Schmid 4.451–452 gives the meaning "in der Richtung nach".

8.19.2 (p. 290.5) τίνα, ὦ Τροφώνιε, **καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρίστην τε** καὶ καθαρωτάτην φιλοσοφίαν ἡγῇ;

καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρίστην τε Westermann praeeunte Oleario (καὶ σὺ τήν τε ἀρίστην) : καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρετήν τε **A E** : καὶ σὺ τήν τε ἀρετὴν **FQ** : καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρτιωτάτην τε Kayser[1App] : καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρτιωτάτην Kayser[2T] : καλλίστην τε ἀρετὴν Jacobs[6]

It is obvious that the transmitted reading, τὴν ἀρετήν τε (τήν τε ἀρετὴν **FQ**) καὶ καθαρωτάτην φιλοσοφίαν, cannot be correct. The transposition of τε before ἀρετήν in **FQ** must have been intended to coordinate the two nouns ἀρετήν and φιλοσοφίαν. Westermann's ἀρίστην τε for ἀρετήν τε, anticipated by Olearius, is an easy and effective solution. I don't understand why Kayser[2] stuck to ἀρτιωτάτην (suggested by him in the apparatus to Kayser[1]), which is much further removed from the transmitted text.

8.20 (p. 290.8) Ἀνάκειται τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ἐν Ἀνθίῳ καὶ σπουδάζεται διὰ **⟨ταύτην⟩ τὴν αἰτίαν**, τὸ δὲ Ἄνθιον Ἰταλῶν τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.

⟨ταύτην⟩ τὴν αἰτίαν scripsi

The transmitted διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν means "for the reason", which is meaningless. It is telling that translators add something to it (e.g. "ob eam causam" [Olearius], "wegen der (angegebenen) Ursache" (*sic*) [Jacobs], "aus dem genannten Grunde" [Mumprecht]), write something of their own invention (e.g. "because of its history" [Jones], "vanwege zijn herkomst" [Mooij]), or simply omit it (e.g. Chassang). To my mind the context requires the first type of interpretation, which is expressed by ⟨ταύτην⟩ τὴν αἰτίαν. The reason why the book was so highly regarded is that it was approved of by the oracle at Lebadeia, as was illustrated in the final sentence of the preceding chapter. A TLG search shows that διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν is almost always accompanied by a modifier, usually ταύτην or (less often) τήνδε. The phrase διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν stands on its own, e.g., in rhetorical treatises, such as in Hermog. *Inv.* 3.5.17 εἴτε ἀντιλέγοιμεν ἀξιοῦντες μὴ δεῖν γενέσθαι, φήσομεν μὴ δεῖν αὐτὸ πραχθῆναι, φαῦλον γὰρ εἶναι ἢ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἢ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἢ διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἢ διὰ τὸ πρόσωπον ἢ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ἢ διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα. For the omission of a form of οὗτος in the transmission compare 1.6 (p. 6.13) where I have added ⟨τούτου⟩ to τοῦ Διός.

8.21 (p. 290.19) ῥητορικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέκειτο ἀμελουμένη καὶ σμικρὰ προσεῖχον τοῖς τὴν τέχνην ξυγκροτοῦσιν, ὡς μόνης **διδάσκαλον** τῆς γλώττης, ὠθίζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν πάντες.

διδάσκαλον Reiske[1] : διδασκάλου **A E FQ** : διδασκάλοις Reiske[1/2]

Almost all translators render the transmitted phrase ὡς μόνης διδασκάλου τῆς γλώττης as "ut quae linguam duntaxat institueret" (Olearius), "as one that taught only the tongue" (Jones) and the like. But the Greek can only be interpreted as an absolute genitive, as Conybeare does: "on the ground that the tongue was their only teacher". However, what the context requires is the meaning given by all translators except Conybeare. Reiske saw this and he offered two solutions: either read διδάσκαλον, congruent with τὴν τέχνην, or διδασκάλοις, congruent with τοῖς ξυγκροτοῦσιν. The first solution appears to be the most attractive, being closest to the transmitted διδασκάλου; moreover, τὴν τέχνην is picked up by τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν in the immediate sequel. The corruption into διδασκάλου can be explained as the result of *Echoschreibung* of the surrounding genitives.

8.25.1 (p. 291.26) ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα ἀπεκτονώς, ἄνδρα ὕπατον, ᾧ τὴν **ἀδελφ⟨ιδ⟩ῆν** τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐδεδώκει, πρόσταγμα δὲ ἐπεποίητο περὶ τὴν τρίτην ἢ τετάρτην ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου κἀκείνην ἐς ἀνδρὸς φοιτᾶν.

ἀδελφ⟨ιδ⟩ῆν Olearius (et Gsell) : ἀδελφὴν **A E FQ**

Flavia Domitilla (*PIR*² F 418), a niece of Domitian,[231] was married to T. Flavius Clemens (*PIR*² F 240), who was Domitian's nephew.[232] In Suet. *Dom.* 15.1 and D.C. 67.14.1–2 we read that Domitian condemned Clemens to death on very vague unspecified accusations (*ex tenuissima suspicione*, Suetonius) or accusations of atheism (ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, Cassius Dio); Cassius Dio adds that Flavia Domitilla was exiled to Pandateria. Therefore Olearius must be right in suggesting that the transmitted reading ἀδελφήν is a corruption of ἀδελφιδῆν.[233]

8.25.1 (p. 292.7) "οὐ τέθνηκεν" εἶπεν "ὁ πολεμιώτατός σοι Κλήμης, ὡς σὺ οἴει, ἀλλ' ἔστιν (**εὖ** ἐγὼ οἶδα) καὶ ξυντάττει ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ σέ."

εὖ **E FQ** : οὗ **A**

All editions read οὗ ἐγὼ οἶδα with **A**. But the point at issue is whether or not Clemens is dead, not where he finds himself presently. Domitian believes him to be dead whereas Stephanus claims that he is alive. The contrast between these two opinions is underlined by ὡς σὺ οἴει and εὖ ἐγὼ οἶδα respectively. The corruption of εὖ into οὗ may (partly) be due to *Echoschreibung* of οὗ τὰ βασίλεια in the preceding line.

8.26.2 (p. 293.6) ἀφίξεται τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ δεῦρο, καὶ τὸ μὲν **{μὴ}** θύειν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβλήσθω ἐς καιρόν, ὃν ἀπαγγελθήσεται ταῦτα.

μὴ **E FQ** : om. Urb.110 Crac.VIII.16.2[234]

When Apollonius tells the Ephesians that Domitian has been killed they simply cannot believe that this is true. Apollonius himself will go and thank the gods for Domitian's death but he understands that the Ephesians will only do so once they have heard trustworthy news from Rome. The transmitted text runs τὸ μὲν μὴ θύειν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβλήσθω ἐς καιρόν, ὃν ἀπαγγελθήσεται ταῦτα. Olearius, who follows Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 110 and Crac.VIII.16.2 in omitting μή, states that it contributes "nihil ad sensum".

231 She was the daughter of Domitian's sister Flavia Domitilla (*PIR*² F 417) and (probably) Q. Petillius Cerialis Caesius Rufus (*PIR*² P 260). Domitian's sister Flavia Domitilla died on the first of July of the year 69.

232 He was the son of T. Flavius Sabinus, who was the son of Vespasian's brother T. Flavius Sabinus.

233 The same conjecture was made independently by Gsell 1894, 296 ("peut-être faut-il attribuer cette erreur à un copiste qui a transformé ἀδελφιδῆν (nièce) en ἀδελφήν"). Cf. Flinterman 1995, 152 (with n. 137). The alternative solution mentioned by Flinterman in n. 137, namely that "the author of the *VA*, and perhaps his source too, had become confused in tracing the relations between members of the Flavian dynasty" seems less likely to me than the hypothesis that the text got corrupted in the course of the transmission; the corruption is easily explained because ἀδελφή is much more frequent than ἀδελφιδῆ.

234 In my edition I wrongly ascribed the omission of μή to Olearius, overlooking that Olearius ascribes this omission to Vaticanus Urbinas 110 and Crac.VIII.16.2 (then known as the Vratislaviensis).

I have considered the possibility of saving the transmitted text, regarding τὸ μὲν μὴ θύειν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς as a Theme construction: "as regards the fact that you don't bring sacrifices for the event, let that be postponed etc." But although Theme constructions occur frequently in Philostratus (see Schmid 4.113–115) this seems to be very far-fetched in the present passage because τὸ μὲν μὴ θύειν is a sequel to ἀφίξεται τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ δεῦρο; a Theme construction normally stands at the beginning of a new clause.

8.28 (p. 294.2) αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ παθεῖν τι ἀπιὼν αὐτοῦ φησιν οὐδὲ εἰδὼς τὰ μέλλοντα, τὸν δ' εὖ εἰδότα μηδὲν μέν οἱ εἰπεῖν, **ὥνπερ** εἰώθασιν οἱ μηκέτ' ἀλλήλους ὀψόμενοι κτέ.

ὥνπερ Reiske[2] : ὥσπερ **E FQ**

The transmitted text means either "say nothing, in the same way that people who will not meet again ⟨say nothing⟩" or "say nothing in the same way that people who will not meet again ⟨speak to each other⟩", both of which are equally nonsensical. What is meant, is that Apollonius, while knowing that he will not see Damis in the flesh again, says nothing of the things people usually say on such occasions. This is suitably expressed by Reiske's ὥνπερ, which I have accordingly adopted.

8.29 (p. 294.11) οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηται οὐδὲν τῷ Δάμιδι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα, τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πρόσω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐλθεῖν **γηράσκων** πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος, νεότητος δὲ ἡδίων.

γηράσκων **E FQ** : γηράσκων ⟨μέν, ἐρρωμένος δὲ⟩ vel ⟨μέν, ἀκέραιος δὲ⟩ Reiske[1] (illud et Reiske[2]) : ἀκέραιος ὢν Kayser[1App] Kayser[2T] (ἀκέραιος iam Reiske[1]) : ἀνηβάσκων Westermann : ἡβάσκων Jones

The transmitted γηράσκων has provoked a number of conjectures. Kayser's ἀκέραιος ὤν (anticipated by Reiske, whose notes Kayser did not know) has the advantage of having an exact parallel in *VS* 1.21.52.2 (p. 32.3 Stefec) ἀλλ' οὐδενὶ τούτων ὁ Σκοπελιανὸς ἥλω· διετέλεσε γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς γῆρας βαθὺ ἀκέραιός τε καὶ ἄρτιος, to which Kayser[2] refers in his critical note. Westermann's ἀνηβάσκων, "rejuvenating", is refuted by the sequel, in which it is stated that wrinkles have a charm of their own; the same goes for Jones' ἡβάσκων, which means "*come to puberty*" (LSJ s.v. 1) and not "youthful", as he translates it. To my mind, the text is sound; for the combination of γηράσκειν and ἄρτιος there is a striking parallel at 8.7.39 (p. 277.16–17) ἀλλὰ γηράσκειν τε αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν ἀρτίοις τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀνόσοις.

8.30.2 (p. 295.1) διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τούτου θαυμαζόμενον, ἀφικέσθαι δ' ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς **Δικτύνης** ἀωρί.

Δικτύννης Olearius

The name of the Cretan goddess Δίκτυν(ν)α is variously spelled with single or double -ν-, so there is no need to print Δικτύννης with Olearius against the mss. For the spelling Δίκτυνα see Adorjáni 2021, 295 on Call. *Dian.* 197 f., who notes that the spelling with single -ν- is already found in Hdt. 3.59.2.[235]

8.31.1 (p. 295.20) τὸ δὲ μειράκιον οὐδαμῶς τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίᾳ ξυντιθέμενον "ἐγώ," ἔφη "ὦ παρόντες, τουτονὶ μῆνα δέκατον Ἀπολλωνίῳ διατελῶ εὐχόμενος ἀναφῆναί μοι τὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς λόγον," ὁ δ' οὕτω **τεθναίη**, ὡς μηδ' ἐφίστασθαι δεομένῳ, μήθ' ὡς ἀθάνατος εἴη, πείθειν.

τεθναίη **MP FQ** : τέθνηκεν Jacobs[6]

The transmitted τεθναίη is unobjectionable, provided that we assume that there is a switch from direct to indirect speech after τὸν λόγον, as happens elsewhere too in Philostratus. See for instance 8.18.1 (p. 288.12–17) "μεγίστη" εἶπε "καὶ ποικιλωτάτη· τεμένη τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ δρόμοι καὶ σκηνὴ δήπου, ἔθνη τε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερορίων τε καὶ ὑπὲρ θάλατταν," καὶ μὴν καὶ τεχνῶν πλείστων αὐτὴν συγκεῖσθαι καὶ σοφισμάτων σοφίας τε ἀληθινῆς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ ξυμβουλιῶν καὶ διαλέξεων γυμνῆς τε ἀγωνίας καὶ μουσικῆς, ὡς Πυθοῖ πάτριον. We find the reverse situation in 3.38.3 (p. 100.9–11) ἤρετο οὖν ὁ σοφὸς πάλιν, εἰ πλησίον εἴη ὁ παῖς, ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρᾶξαι, "ὁ δ' ἀπειλεῖ κρημνοὺς καὶ βάραθρα καὶ ἀποκτενεῖν μοι τὸν υἱόν, εἰ δικαζοίμην αὐτῷ δεῦρο." In the next sentence Philostratus refers to the young man's words by means of τοιαῦτα, which seems to be in accordance with the rendering of the final words in indirect speech; if the whole speech had been reported in direct speech, we would expect the more specific ταῦτα. Further, the change of an authentic τέθνηκεν to τεθναίη is very hard to explain. See also note on 6.12.1 (p. 197.2).

235 N.G. Wilson, in the new OCT of Herodotus, prints Δικτύννης with Laurentianus 70.3 (siglum A). The old OCT by C. Hude has Δικτύνης. If I interpret the apparatuses in both OCT editions correctly all other primary mss., including A's congeners B and C, read Δικτύνης: Hude reports "Δικτύννης A", which means that B and C do not share this reading (Hude uses the collective siglum **a** for the readings of ABC); Wilson reports "Δικτύννης A : -ύνης **d**" but he only rarely quotes the readings of B and C.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO THE TEUBNER EDITION OF PHILOSTRATUS' *VITA APOLLONII TYANEI*

p. XXI (line 11 from top) *for* καθήρας προ καθάρας *read* καθήρας pro καθάρας
p. XXIII (line 13 from bottom): *for* οὐκ *read* οὔκ
p. LVI (under **S**) *for* 1440 *read* 1400
p. LVII (under Laurentianus Conventi Soppressi 155) *for* 1440 *read* 1400
p. LVII (under Parisinus graecus 1696): *for* 1420 *read* 1320
p. 1 (app. crit., line 6 from top) *for* εἰς^{2} *read* ἐς
p. 38.9 (in the margin) *add section number* 2
p. 107.12 (app. crit.) *for* Πηγάδας **A E** *read* Πηγάδας **A E** Phot.**M**
p. 110.8 (in the margin) *add section number* 2
p. 123.12 *for* ἄφεξεσθαί *read* ἀφέξεσθαί
p. 158.21 (in the margin) *add section number* 2
p. 204.7 (app. crit.) *for* μόνον scripsi (possis etiam μόνου) : μόνοι **A E FQ** *read* μόνον scripsi : μόνοι **A E FQ** : μόνου Conybeare
p. 204.8 *for* φασιν *read* φασίν
p. 214–215 (headers) *for* 6.31.1–33.2 *and* 6.33.2–34.2 *read* 6.31.1–32.2 *and* 6.32.2–34.2
p. 244.3 *for* βούλεταί *read* βούλεται
p. 244 (under sources) *for* D. 3.8 *read* D. 3.33
p. 248.12 *for* μοι *read* μοι,
p. 288 (add as source) 20–21 καθάπερ – ἄνδρας: resp. Th. 7.77.7
p. 293.6 (app. crit.) *for* μὴ del. Olearius *read* θύειν Urb.110 Crac.VIII.16.2 : μὴ θύειν **E FQ**
p. 303 (under Demosthenes) *for* 3.8 *read* 3.33
p. 306 (under Thucydides) *add* 7.77.7: 288.20–21